LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of Labour Unity

Founded 1921

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Last Thoughts for Brighton	★	R.P.D.
'No' to the No-men	★	Ivor Montagu
Rising Tide at Blackpool	★	E. M. Winterton
The Altrincham Affair	★	'Commoner'
A Voice from Syria	★	Dr. Mustafa Amine
Morris, Marxism and Typography	★	Allen Hutt

Labour Discussion Forum:

I. *Controversy on Israel:* Professor Levy, R. Palme Dutt.

II. *Women's Wages:* Agnes McLean, Joyce Farrelly.

October, 1957

One shilling and sixpence

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A CRAFTSMAN AND HIS TOOLS

LAST MONTH we appealed to those of our readers who feel a personal responsibility to *L.M.* for help and advice in getting increased support in money and new readership. First response came from one in *Wiltshire* who shows what 'a sense of personal responsibility' means. He is in his eightieth year, and after saying how sorry he had felt that he 'could not help', goes on:

'Now, however, I have taken a decision at last. I have been clinging to my tools I used as a toolmaker, and would not part with them for money. I needed it, but could only think No, No, No. It would hurt me when it came to pass, as come it will, that my life machine stopped working properly and everything would be scattered without any direction as to who to give things to. So I come to the point: I have a quantity of precision tools, toolmakers' tools, which I could send along for you. Their weight would be about twenty pounds and their value £15 to £20—it all depends on who sells them and who buys them. If you could manage to accept them and steer them into the hands of a first-class toolmaker friend, I would be glad. He would know their value. Meanwhile, just because L.M. *must go on, I must squeeze out the enclosed ten shilling note.'—R.V.G.*

We shall be grateful if any reader who expects to pass through north Wiltshire soon with a car, truck or van will tell us, so that I can accept our friend's moving offer. His gift is not to be measured in money. These tools are for use in building the future, just as we try to make *L.M.* serve in the same way. They must be put into hands that will use them as such.

From our pioneer to **a young Labour Party reader in Scotland:** 'Please don't think I have forgotten all about *L.M.* because I did not write—far from it. Yet another newsagent is now displaying it in his window for me. That makes two newsagents, in this small town. Also, please send an August specimen copy to this railwayman, mentioning my name. And here is my 2s. 6d.—*'Royal Scot'*.

Of suggestions made: **A live wire amongst literature secretaries** in the South Midlands had the bright idea of collecting some 18 copies of back numbers covering the last four months and making planned use of them in a city where a left swing has recently shown itself. His aim is to give a further push to the swing, and so to transform the labour movement here'. Too soon for news of results as yet, he remarks, but encloses his 'personal 5s. guarantee. Now I'm lit. sec., it's high time!'—*J.T.*

Various **proposals for economising on postage** have been made, some very interesting. (As much as 6d. might go on stamps, in certain circumstances, for invoice, receipt and posting a single copy.) Typical and simple suggestion *from an Inverness-shire subscriber* and fund donor: 'Don't post me a receipt. Acknowledgement in next month's fund list is enough.'—*D.S.M.*

A collector suggests that in order to help to **focus attention on the fund,** we should 'publicise some of the elder statesmen on your list. Old Anon, Whitchurch has always intrigued me with that dependable bob. He (or she?), Socialist Sailor and Tam O' Shanter might appreciate it if their name

(Continued on page iii of cover)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vol. XXXIX, No. 10 CONTENTS October, 1957

Page

NOTES OF THE MONTH: Last Thoughts For Brighton, by R.P.D. .. 433
'NO' TO THE NO-MEN, by Ivor Montagu 446
RISING TIDE AT BLACKPOOL, by E. M. Winterton 453
THE ALTRINCHAM AFFAIR, by 'Commoner' 459
THE MORE IT CHANGES 462
A VOICE FROM SYRIA, by Dr. Mustafa Amine 463
MORRIS, MARXISM AND TYPOGRAPHY, by Allen Hutt 467
LABOUR DISCUSSION FORUM: *Controversy on Israel* (Professor H. Levy, R. Palme Dutt); *Women's Wages* (Agnes McLean, Joyce Farrelly); *Also:* W. Williamson 469
NEW POEMS, by Mao Tse-tung 456-457
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO 445

Book Reviews:

The Development of Capitalism in Russia, by V. I. Lenin: *Maurice Dobb* 476
Studies in Secret Diplomacy During the First World War, by W. W. Gottlieb: *D. N. Pritt, Q.C.* 478

Shorter Notices:

Assignment China, *R.F.B.;* Handbook on People's China, *P.A.* .. 480

Notes of the Month

Last Thoughts for Brighton

'A controversy about a document that was meant to say almost nothing has probably temporarily to safe nothingness returned.'

ECONOMIST, **commenting on the Labour Executive document** *Industry and Society,* **September 14, 1957.**

WHAT will the Brighton Conference of the Labour Party decide? We would not presume to predict the outcome of the battle before the battle is fought. Many readers will be reading these Notes after the decisions are reached. But this much is certain. This Conference is the decisive conference for policy in the coming election, whether that election comes in one year or two years or less than a year. It is the decisive conference for the policy of a future Labour Government. It takes place in the midst of a new menacing international situation and economic situation. And it takes place in the midst of the most intense controversy in the labour movement since the end of the Labour Government.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Confusion Worse Confounded

Was there ever a more extraordinary controversy than has developed over the Labour Executive document *Industry and Society*? Let us imagine ourselves in the position of an average faithful member of the Labour Party who believes in socialism. He supports the Labour Party because its constitution promises 'common ownership'. He wants to know if the new programme will help us forward to this aim. He is prepared to listen to the wisdom and opinions of his leaders on this matter to assist him in forming a judgment. What does he find?

Signposts In All Directions

The *Daily Herald* tells him that the document is a 'blue-print for the ownership of Britain by all the British'. That sounds like socialism. But the right wing *Socialist Commentary* complains that the document is 'not socialism'. Mr. Mikardo, elected to the Executive as a representative of the left, proclaims that the document is a 'good document'. But Mr. Morrison, whom no one accuses of left sympathies, denounces the document as 'the most right-wing policy deviation in Labour Party history'. Mr. Crossman vigorously defends the document in the pages of *Tribune* as opening the way to a great 'extension of public ownership'. But *Tribune* editorially condemns the document as 'hopelessly muddled' and demands its rejection or radical amendment in favour of extended nationalisation. Mr. Mikardo announces that the policy set out could 'get much more nationalisation in the next few years than we have ever had before' and bring over 70 per cent. of the nation's wealth into public ownership 'within a few years'. But the *New Statesman and Nation* finds that 'there is nothing here to worry private enterprise unduly'.

No Alarm in the City

The City, with its keen nose for any threat, has shown little alarm. *The Times* finds it 'not likely to do much harm', and hopes that 'the new policy will help to purge the Labour Party of one myth about public ownership without mesmerising it by another': the *Economist* brutally describes the report as 'a smokescreen' to 'cover up' the retreat from nationalisation. In the face of this confusion of voices, it is evident that the rank and file member of the Labour Party will have to judge the document for himself. And there are abundant signs, not least at the Trades Union Congress, that he is doing so—much to the alarm of the authors of the document.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where Stand the Bevanites?

Last year's Labour Party Conference saw a resounding victory of the Left in the elections to the treasurership and the constituency positions on the Executive. The contest of Bevan against Gaitskell for the treasurership two years ago was universally regarded as a symbol of the contest between two philosophies, of the left and the right, between the champions of the forward advance to socialism, represented by Bevan, and the apostles of the 'new thinking' and retreat from 'old-fashioned socialism', represented by Gaitskell. Last year Bevan was elected to the treasurership after a keen contest, by the support of all the progressive forces. The 'Bevanites', as they came to be somewhat loosely called, and others associated with the left, swept the board in the elections of the seven constituency representatives on the Executive, reflecting rank and file feeling. Here, it was proclaimed, was the emergence of the new leadership of the left in the Labour Party. Here, it was claimed, was the demonstration of the possibility of a leadership of the left without the Communist Party. Where stand the Bevanites today? History is merciless in putting every claim to the test of practice.

At Sixes and Sevens

Within twelve months the new leadership of the left has disappeared into every possible divergent direction, simultaneously into unanimity with the right, and into mutual division and recrimination among themselves. In place of leading the left, they have divided the left, and thus made more difficult the broad co-operation of all progressive forces in the political labour movement which is so essential for the victory of a socialist policy. The new document, which has won the execration of the left rank and file and of large numbers of trade unionists as a retreat from the aims of public ownership, is signed simultaneously by Gaitskell and by Bevan, it is signed unanimously by the entire Executive, equally by the right wing and by the seven constituency representatives. More. Lest this be thought a merely formal final unanimous endorsement, we are informed that the spadework in the production of the new policy was done by a working party headed by James Griffiths, 'and including among others Hugh Gaitskell, Aneurin Bevan, Harold Wilson, Ian Mikardo and Barbara Castle' (Crossman in *Tribune*, September 6, 1957). Rumour even has it that the great part of the text of the document was written by the constituency parties' left champion, Ian Mikardo, who publicly proclaims it a 'good document'.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dividing the Left

As soon, however, as the storm began to break from the rank and file, who persist in regarding the document as a retreat from nationalisation into shareholding partnership with private profit-making capitalism, the new leadership of the left has proceeded to scatter in all directions. Crossman stoutly defends the document as a vast advance in socialism and public ownership. Mikardo proclaims that the document 'could' lead to a gigantic extension of nationalisation provided that it is operated by 'a forthright Left Wing Minister' (he does not make it clear whether he regards Gaitskell as a future 'forthright Left Wing' Prime Minister, or whether he is contemplating a basic change in the present right wing domination of the Labour Party—without a battle by the left). Barbara Castle apologises for the document as 'sadly blurred' (*Sunday Pictorial,* September 1, 1957), but suggests that it could be supplemented by measures of nationalisation and recommends as 'my candidate for the new list' the vastly profitable oil industry (shades of imperialism! The Middle Eastern peoples will be delighted to hear of this new theory of Left Socialism in Britain). Bevan signs the document, but his 'better half', Jennie Lee, roundly repudiates it. Crossman and Mikardo fill the pages of the Bevanite *Tribune* with defence of the document, while *Tribune* editorially denounces it. All very fine healthy stimulating controversy, no doubt. No accursed 'monolithic' unity here. But where is the new leadership of the left? It is impossible not to be reminded of the fate of the Liberal Party, which proclaimed the noblest abstract principles, but disappeared into opposite lobbies on every practical issue. But such is always the fate of Centrism.

Unanimity of Left and Right.

Is there unanimity of the Executive behind the document? Even on this point there is dispute and mutual contradiction among those directly concerned. The vote was unanimous. No opposition was moved. No amendments were moved. This is recognised by all concerned. Does this mean that the battle for the future of Labour policy is over in the eyes of the entire leadership from right to left? Have Gaitskell and Bevan struck a bargain on the basis of 'Shareholding Socialism', which Bevan explicitly condemned a few months ago? Have the seven constituency representatives reached unanimity with the right wing? Crossman asserts vigorously that this is the case. If the document is a 'betrayal of socialism', he says,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the manifesto of the thirty-two Labour M.P.s implied, 'then the betrayal has been committed by the whole National Executive', including the constituency representatives.

Charge and Counter-Charge

But after the storm of protest from the rank and file has grown, the tune changes. Some left wing representatives hurry forward to explain that there was sharp division between the left and the right on the Executive, and that the final unanimous vote was only necessary in order to avoid a split. 'The only alternative', declared Jennie Lee (*Tribune,* August 23, 1957), 'would have been to have had resignations or threats of resignations from the minority elements on the Executive'. Therefore she concluded that 'a whole armada of little ships' must 'sail to the rescue' at the Conference to make the Executive 'take back its public ownership statement and re-cast the conclusions'. So the constituency parties, having sent their seven representatives to the Executive to fight for their viewpoint, must now be left to do the job themselves against their supposed spokesmen, by means of the 'armada of little ships'—fortunately with the aid of considerable trade union sections who are far from 'little ships'. How the theory of 'the armada' to defeat the Executive combines with the theory of 'unity' to hide the differences is not made clear.

A Flat Denial

Unfortunately for the otherwise plausible theory of a united front to prevent a split, with the minority loyally giving way to the majority, Crossman replies to his colleagues with a flat denial that this was the case:

> Before Jennie Lee and Maurice Edelman swallow the story that there was a serious cleavage on the Executive, they should ask Ian Mikardo to tell them whether there was a single issue in the discussion of this pamphlet into which we were split into a majority, and a minority, with the minority having to give way. (*Tribune,* September 6, 1957.)

So according to this version the 'little armada' will have to fight against the viewpoint of their chosen representatives whom they put on the Executive to express the viewpoint of the left rank and file. The Bevanites may have succeeded in the aim of not splitting the Executive. But they have certainly split themselves. Nor have they avoided the decision of the movement on policy. On the contrary, the battle has risen to a new height around this document. For the battle on policy—alongside the essential unity in action

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against the common Tory enemy—cannot be sidestepped and has to be fought, the battle between the left policy for the advance to socialism and the right wing policy for the retreat from socialism. This battle centres at the present stage around this document.

Labour Party and Trades Union Congress

Stung by Crossmans' reassertion of alleged unanimity of left and right on the Executive in relation to the document, Barbara Castle replied with a new and remarkable account of what she states happened on the Executive. She describes three successive drafts. The first draft, she says, met with vigorous criticism from the left at a joint meeting with Trades Union Congress representatives. She denies the allegation of Wilfred Heywood, Chairman of the Economic Committee of the T.U.C., made at the Blackpool Congress, 'that Mr. Bevan spoke enthusiastically and strongly in support of the document'. The document, she says, was sharply criticised at this meeting by Bevan, Cousins and Heywood.

> The only unanimity which took place at this meeting was between some of the T.U.C. representatives and the left wing critics of the document on the T.U.C. (*Tribune*, September 13, 1957.)

As a result of 'this new united front', she continues, a new draft was prepared which 'was accepted by the T.U.C. as going a considerable way to meet its objections'.

Whose Final Draft?

But here a remarkable statement follows. This second draft, agreed with the Trades Union Congress and partially meeting left criticisms, was not, she says, presented for adoption or published. Instead, a third draft (whose? from where?) was substituted, unanimously adopted by the Executive and published. For this extraordinary outcome she says that both right and left on the Executive are equally to blame.

> The new draft was accepted by the T.U.C. as going a considerable way to meet its criticisms. Unfortunately the draft is not the one which has finally emerged for publication and presentation to the Conference. Why is this? Here all of us, both on the Right and on the Left, must share responsibility.

A Plain Conclusion

The important question, however, is not the question of blame or relative responsibilities of right and left leaders or personalities. The important issue revealed by this account, if it is to be believed,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is that, *after* the draft had been revised in the light of left criticisms and the opinions of the Trades Union Congress, the revised draft agreed with the T.U.C. was dropped, and the right wing line smuggled back and adopted unanimously by the Executive. If this account is true, then it emphasises all the more the necessity for the Conference to use its full strength, alike of the constituency parties and of the unions, to refer back this abortive draft and compel the preparation of a new draft corresponding to the wishes of the majority of the movement, rejecting the right wing retreat from socialism, and explicitly setting out the aims for extending public ownership over a range of major industries and sections of economy.

Trade Unions in the Vanguard

In this situation the marked progressive leftward trend of the majority of the decisions of the Blackpool Trades Union Congress takes on a positive political significance, especially in relation to the Labour Party and the whole controversy on nationalisation.

The trade unions have experienced the full blows of the economic offensive of the Tory Government. They have entered into industrial action on a scale unequalled since the General Strike. This advance has also been reflected in the political field. The dominant right wing leadership is not yet changed; the method of election precludes this, until a complete change in the balance of forces has taken place. But during recent years the Trades Union Congress, where the communist trade unionists are able to play their full part in the progressive alliance, and are not artificially excluded, as in the Labour Party, has shown a more powerful volume of left support than in the Labour Party, and has in some cases carried leftward resolutions in advance of the Labour Party. It was the T.U.C. last year that forced the issue on Suez. This general advance has been notably carried forward at Blackpool.

A New Kind of Unanimity

At previous Congresses, during the past few years, it had become a significant feature that hotly contested left resolutions, which were fiercely denounced by the platform as 'Communist-inspired', could command a consistent average vote of three to three and a half millions. This time there were no such divided votes. There were no divisions at all—a situation almost without precedent. 'A dull Congress' was the consequent comment of some superficial observers, who missed the excitement of hotly contested divisions, and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

found the unity of the class as 'dull' as they equally find a Soviet election. These observers lost the whole point. The absence of division in the voting was in reality more sensational than any division. It did not mean that the left vote of three and a half millions had disappeared. It meant that the left vote had so far increased in strength on a wide variety of issues that the right wing leadership deemed it wiser not to reveal their minority basis by challenging a vote.

Left and Centre

The left was being joined by the centre. The battle against the wage-freeze no longer required the annual resolution of the electricians, but was sponsored by the organisation that had once been the bulwark of Bevin and Deakin, and was moved by a non-communist and seconded by a communist. The resolution on European collective security, moved by the electricians and carried unanimously, was such as the right wing leadership would have loved to denounce as 'Communist-inspired', since it challenged the very basis of Western official policy and reversed previous Labour policy; but after sensing the majority in the delegations, the right wing leadership abandoned any attempt to say a word in opposition. (It is amusing to note that the innocent *Tribune* commentator on the Trades Union Congress instanced precisely this resolution on European collective security as the signal example of the amazing and incredible advance of strength of the left in the T.U.C. and then proceeded to announce in the next breath that Communist influence in the thought of the T.U.C. had been 'erased' or 'evaporated'.) Despite negative decisions on some issues (the acceptance of the final surrender of the *Daily Herald* to capitalism, and of the so-called 'Solidarity Fund' to subvert militant trade unionism in the colonies) a wide series of important positive resolutions in the industrial and political field was carried, as set out in the article on the T.U.C. on a later page. The adoption of these progressive resolutions without a division was a sign of the times.

Shall the White Flag Turn to Red?

The fury of the capitalist press comment over the outcome of the Blackpool Trades Union Congress has afforded a remarkable contrast to the contemptuous tolerance with which they have greeted the Labour Party Executive statement on *Industry and Society* (at any rate until it becomes time to work up a conventional electoral

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scare about the 'Red Menace' represented by the document). 'Destructive Mood' was the comment of *The Times* on the first day's proceedings. At the end the same journal passed the verdict:

> Until a couple of years ago, the moderates were in the saddle. Now the left is on top, and the moderates have yet to find leaders ready to challenge the left in public.

'A Bigger White Flag at Blackpool' was the angry summing up of the *Daily Telegraph,* castigating the right wing leadership for their surrender:

> The quality of leadership was probably at its lowest ebb in the long chequered history of the industrial working class movement. . . . The only difference between the Congresses of last year and this year is that the White Flag raised at Brighton is a bigger one at Blackpool.

Of course it all depends on what is meant by the 'White Flag'. Some might prefer to suggest that at Blackpool the White Flag was beginning to give place to the Red Flag.

Nationalisation

This leftward trend of the Trades Union Congress has a direct bearing on the nationalisation controversy in the Labour Party. For many trade unions have a direct interest in nationalisation, and are not likely to be fobbed off by supposed clever alternatives about state shareholding in capitalism. Many unions are pledged by their decisions to press for nationalisation of their industries. This arises especially in the case of the building, engineering and chemical industries. The case for nationalisation was strongly pressed at the Congress. A resolution was carried for the nationalisation of the machine tool industry. A further resolution reminded the General Council of its failure 'to carry out the mandate of the 1952 Congress and the pledges given at the 1953 Congress in respect of public ownership', and instructed the General Council 'to work for the implementation of such policy in order that the trade union movement can determine the part it is to play, in conjunction with the political wing of the movement, in shaping Labour's next general election programme'.

'Adjunct'

A direct adverse verdict on the Labour Party Executive statement was only avoided by the explicit statement on behalf of the General Council:

> The General Council regards the Labour Party statement as an adjunct to a nationalisation programme rather than a substitute for it.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

By this ingenious 'interpretation' all the exhaustive efforts of the 'New Thinkers' to sell the movement an alternative to 'old-fashioned nationalisation', and all the brilliant devices of the Labour Party Executive drafters to offer Shares in Capitalism as the grand new model, were airily waved away with a flick of the magic wand and transformed into a mere 'adjunct' to nationalisation. On this basis the doubts of delegates were temporarily appeased. But the battle is not yet over.

All With One Accord Began To Make Excuse

A remarkable change in the climate of discussion around the Labour Party Executive document on *Industry and Society* has followed the plain indications of the Trades Union Congress. The T.U.C. proceedings had shown that 'Shareholding Socialism' had not taken a trick. The rank and file still want 'old-fashioned nationalisation'. A spate of 'new interpretation' of the document has followed to prove that it really means wholesale nationalisation. There has been quite a boisterous rush to jump on the nationalisation bandwagon. Two days after the close of the T.U.C. the Labour Party published an official statement that they proposed to nationalise the machine tool industry or parts of it. Of course it was explained that this statement of policy had really been prepared six months earlier. Curiously enough it had not been thought necessary before the T.U.C. to include this not unimportant proposal in the field of industry in the Report on Industry.

'Interpreting' the Document

The theory of the 'adjunct' to explain away the Report on Industry has now become almost the standard line. All the elaborate proposals for buying shares in private capitalist monopolies as the new 'socialist' policy are now dismissed as a mere 'adjunct'. The essence of the Report is declared to be a policy of extensive nationalisation. If no specific mention was made in the text of any new industries to be nationalised, this was only because the inclusion of a 'shopping list', as it was contemptuously termed, would tie the hands of a new Labour Government from carrying out the vast projects of nationalisation really contemplated by the programme. By September 6 Mr. Crossman was explaining in *Tribune* that all the proposals for 'Shareholding Socialism', which the innocent had believed to be the kernel of the new programme, were to be considered 'not as a substitute for full-scale nationalisation, but as auxiliary

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proposals of secondary importance'. And Mr. Mikardo explained that in his view the 'mandate' of the document for the next Labour Government would be to

> transfer to public ownership by compulsory purchase and as quickly as possible all the equity shares of about 600 giant companies.

So the real proposal of this much maligned Report was apparently to nationalise, with compensation ('compulsory purchase'), all the biggest capitalist monopolies in Britain. 'Public ownership.' '*Compulsory* purchase.' '*All* the equity shares.' Quite a jump from the text of the original Report.

'Compromise' Proposals

Before accepting at face value these new 'interpretations' of the document a word of warning is necessary. There is every indication that, in face of the storm of anger which has been aroused against the proposed retreat from nationalisation, the attempt will be made to suggest a 'compromise' on the lines indicated by the statement of the General Council at the Trades Union Congress. The basis of such a 'compromise' would be (1) to indicate that the unpopular shareholding proposals are only one of many suggested paths, a mere 'auxiliary' or 'adjunct' to nationalisation; (2) to give the firmest assurances that nationalisation is not excluded by the document, and that extensions of nationalisation are in fact contemplated; (3) on this basis, and in the light of such assurances by the Executive, to ask for the unanimous acceptance of the Report and the withdrawal of any proposal for its reference back or drastic amendment. The acceptance of such a 'compromise' might be further presented as the basis to overcome divisions and ensure the indispensable unity of all sections in the coming election to defeat the Tory Government.

A Firm Line Necessary

Undoubtedly, if the storm of left wing protest aroused by the document succeeds in compelling new assurances with regard to the extension of nationalisation, this will be an important step forward and a measure of the feeling of the movement. But to propose that on the basis of such assurances this Report should be accepted, instead of being referred back to be recast, is a very different matter. For the text of the Report does not correspond to any such assurances. The Report does not make any explicit proposal for new nationalisation. It only proposes 'thorough enquiry' and 'reserves the right' to nationalise an industry if it is 'seriously failing the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nation'. But the Report adds that 'the great majority' of the big capitalist combines 'are serving the nation well'. The explicit proposals are the shareholding proposals and the revision of company law. Verbal assurances in Conference to secure the acceptance of the Report do not change this right wing character of the Report, and are in fact strictly no more binding than ministerial assurances in parliament to secure the passage of a bill when the judges come to interpret the Act in the courts. It is, therefore, vitally important for the trade unions and the constituency parties, the majority of whom are undoubtedly opposed to the retreat from socialism and wish to see the extension of nationalisation, to do everything to ensure that explicit proposals for extending nationalisation are adopted and that the Report is drastically recast for this purpose. Such a positive programme is indispensable for rallying the strongest unity against the Tory Government and capitalism.

Victory Can Be Won

For the present controversy over the future of Labour policy, over nationalisation and the programme of a Labour Government, is not taking place in a vacuum. It is part of a wider immediate battle, which will in fact be decisive for the future. It is taking place in an international situation, whose dangers are manifest to all with the deadlock of disarmament negotiations, the suicidal nuclear arms race, the provocations and storm clouds in the Middle East, or the return to power of Adenauer in Western Germany on the basis of the same forces which financed and supported Hitler. It is taking place in an economic situation where the reckless capitalist boom has begun to give place to new uncertainty, where the collapse of currencies and the instability of the pound are revealing the precarious basis of Britain's present economy, and where the blows of the Government's offensive are striking millions of tenants, pensioners and all with low incomes. But it is taking place also in a situation where the Trades Union Congress has demonstrated the increasing strength of left currents in the working class, and where the solidarity of industrial struggles has shown the response to the call to action. The storm against the right wing Report on Industry is part of this stirring. All the conditions are gathering for new advance. If Brighton corresponds to Blackpool, Brighton can contribute to this new advance. The battle over the programme of a future Labour Government is inseparably bound up with the immediate battle to defeat the present offensive of the Tory Government,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its war policy and economic onslaught, and to hasten its downfall, so as to open the road to a new Government and a new programme. On this present mobilisation the future depends.

September 18, 1957. R.P.D.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

RE-ARMAMENT: THE WAR DANGER

The International situation bears out this character of the present stage. On the one side we have the open fiasco of the Disarmament Conference and the question of German re-arming as the centre of the situation. On the other side we have the Japanese confirmation of their seizure of Manchuria by the recognition of their puppet state of Manchukuo, and their threat to extend their aggression to Mongolia. Both these movements, which constitute the two focusing points of the present international situation, are movements of a direct war character. And both have obvious significance in relation to the forming of the armed front against the Soviet Union. . . . The twelve months since the Japanese occupation of Mukden have thus seen a steady advance in the imperialist antagonisms and growing war-character of the crisis.

From *Notes of the Month*, by R.P.D.
October, 1932.

LABOUR MONTHLY SUBSCRIPTION RATES: *United Kingdom, 12 months, 18s. post free; $3.00 in United States of America and Canada; elsewhere overseas, 19s. post free.*

LABOUR MONTHLY BY AIRMAIL: *To non-European countries (including Hong Kong) except as below, post free: Single copy 4s.; a year's subscription 48s. To China (except Hong Kong), Australia, New Zealand, Japan and the Philippines, post free: Single copy 4s. 5d.; a year's subscription 53s. To Aden, Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Syria, post free, 3s. 7d. per copy; a year's subscription 43s.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'NO' TO THE NO-MEN

IVOR MONTAGU

THE early days of the Cold War were distinguished by the attribution to the recently-appointed Soviet ambassador to Mongolia of a penchant for saying 'Nyet'. This label (or libel) was raised successfully to the status of a music-hall joke. We hear less of it now. The title of 'No-men' has been taken over by the Western brothers. The reference here is not, of course, to the originals of that title, respected members of their stage profession, but to the cross-talk acts which, grimly unfunny, are now comprising all humanity on the stage of the world, namely Eisenhower and Dulles, Stassen and Moch, and the top-billing zany pair of all, Macmillan and Lloyd.

Consider what they are saying 'No' to just now. No to Disarmament. No to stopping the tests. No to the abolition of nuclear weapons. (These are three negatives which we shall presently demonstrate.) In Europe—No to a single security system. No to a mutual withdrawal of troops, No to a preliminary co-operation of the two Germanies. In the Middle East—No to an arms embargo, No to a joint renunciation of the use of force, No to simple consultations. No to talks between the two Vietnams. No to talks between the two Koreas. No, in fact, to any and every proposal for settlement in any and every quarter of the globe. To get the full flavour of this No, it is worth noting that the proposals they are now negativing include several which were originally first put forward as 'compromises' by their own spokesman (*e.g.*, Mr. Eden's neutral zone in Europe), or even signed by them in solemn undertaking of support (*e.g.*, the Geneva provisions for conversations envisaging the unification of Vietnam).

Consider the Western proposals put forward in the Disarmament Sub-commission last month. These are breath-taking in their cynicism and hypocrisy. The essence of this document lies in its conclusion: 'This working paper is offered for negotiation on the understanding that its provisions are inseparable'. Take it or leave it. What sort of negotiation is that? Much advertised is the offer regarding suspension of tests, and the supposed 'goodwill' shown in raising the Western offer in this respect from one year to two. ('Goodwill' to whom? An act of repentance rather—were it genuine—benefiting not least their own populations.) There will be no suspension at all unless the U.S.S.R. accepts the whole plan,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and then it is to be only for one year unless certain new agreements are negotiated. The second year is made dependent on cut-off. In what? Cut-off, be it noted, in production of fissile material for bomb-making. There is no suggestion of cut-off in making bombs out of already existing fissile material (*e.g.*, H-bombs from A-bombs) in which the U.S. is understood to have great preponderance. Nor is there any undertaking whatever of renunciation or even restraint in respect to the use of existing bomb stocks. On the contrary. 'Linking of "cut-off" to elimination of nuclear weapons is impracticable in any foreseeable future', says the document. We place our reliance on them, says Mr. Noble, representing the United Kingdom (a nation which will certainly be destroyed if ever they are used). And the document even proposes to clarify the hitherto vague terrain in international law on the permissibility or otherwise of the use of nuclear weapons by legalising this 'if an armed attack has . . . placed the party in a situation of individual or collective self-defence'. Of which, of course, 'the party' is to be sole judge, just as Mr. Eden judged when he had to defend himself against Nasser, Mr. Macmillan when he had to defend the Muscat Sultan against the tribesmen of Oman and Mr. Eisenhower proposes to judge whether Turkey, Iraq and Jordan have to defend themselves against Syria. A principle which has received any necessary underlining by the British Government's withdrawal (deliberately concealed until, and revealed only after, Parliament had recessed) from the arbitration provisions of the Hague International Court.

Continue the analysis. The figures of reduction in conventional armed forces proposed on the Western side provide in the first phase for no effective reductions on the Western side at all. The second phase and the third phase are made dependent on two factors, political settlements of an unspecified nature and the eventual agreement to reductions of a number of other governments. This means that there is no obligation or undertaking at all for second or third phase reduction on the part of the Western Governments. They have only to maintain their intransigeance on the subject of a German settlement, for example, or to put some financially dependent stooge government up to raise objection, in order to escape any onus of blame for not proceeding to the second or third stage. Likewise, the much-trumpeted aerial zones of inspection, supposedly intended to prevent surprise attack on either side, lay open—in the chief Western blueprint—the whole of Soviet territory, but none of the bases from North Africa through the Baghdad pact countries to those of Seato, from which the territory of the U.S.S.R. and its

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

allies can conveniently be attacked, an omission purported to be explained by the 'obligations' assumed by the Western powers towards the Baghdad-Seato group. Neat, very neat. Blackmail by poison. The Western proposition may be paraphrased thus: unless you agree completely to our proposals we intend to go on poisoning the whole world, including our own people and also future generations in every quarter of the globe; if you agree, you will reduce your conventional armed forces (while we do not), you will accept limitation on manufacture of nuclear weapons according to a system that allows us to make those of the latest type more freely than you, you will present us with the opportunity to inspect and photograph all your territory, while we are bound to no obligations to refrain from the use of nuclear weapons save such as our own judgment commends to us; further, unless you assent to political settlements on such conditions as we choose to maintain, not only shall disarmament, including even reduction of conventional armed forces, proceed no further, but you agree in advance that we shall be entitled to resume the poisoning of humanity by our tests.

This is not a disarmament plan at all. It is a proposal for unconditional surrender. Not only that, but unless we understand that the Western 'negotiators' put it forward as such, and knowing it to be such, we shall understand nothing in the present situation.

It is a convention of politeness nowadays to credit anyone criticised with being actuated by the best motives, and it has long been a working hypothesis of the peace movement that the two negotiating blocs are equally anxious in pursuit of peace, equally desirous of disarmament, each equally handicapped by lack of confidence in the other, the chief obstacles to agreement being supposedly either technical or deriving from this mutual mistrust. To pretend this in present circumstances, however, is to ignore the glaring facts, to mislead the people, indeed to perform a disservice to peace. How shut one's eyes to the demarche of the Pentagon to President Eisenhower—with its nonsense about 'clean' bombs—when the latter showed signs of responding to the demand for ending the tests, rife even in America? How blind oneself to the plain meaning of the protests of Macmillan and Moch leading to the slapping down of Stassen, when the latter ventured to discuss possible solutions alone with Zorin? How close one's ears to the speeches of Sandys, and of one Sandhurst general after another, about the nuclear arm being our dependable essential stay and there to stay and no nonsense? The fact is that this whole Crazy Gang has opted for a return, and even intensification, of the Cold War.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is the explanation of the abrupt and offensive letter from Macmillan ending the exchange of correspondence with Bulganin, with its insolent pretence that public opinion in England would not support large-scale cultural exchanges (this just a few days after the record-breaking success of the Anglo-Soviet athletic match before packed crowds at the White City). This, the decision to eschew any form of co-operative co-existence, is the reason for the bullying of Syria to the point of brinkmanship. This is the ground for the futile name-calling and exhibition of wrist-twisting over the Special U.N. Session on Hungary. No longer is there even any pretence that the failure to agree on a disarmament first step is due to the technical difficulty of control, or to fear of the numbers of 'Asiatic hordes'. Admittedly adequate policing of a first step agreement to stop tests is offered by the Soviet Union itself (Macmillan's untruth about such policing being impossible having fallen with a dull thud after arousing the contempt of every scientist in every country), and the U.S.A. is now the chief opponent of the drastic numerical cuts in armed effectives offered by the U.S.S.R. Even the policy purposes of the return to Cold War are barely concealed, in fact they have been openly proclaimed. First it is roundly asserted that the events following the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the crises in Poland and in Hungary, the crisis his summer involving the Presidium and Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., are proof that the policy of Cold War and 'containment' can be made to pay dividends. Just a *'leetle'* more patience and pressure, just a *wee bit* more provocation by increased espionage and sabotage, obliging the Soviet bloc to enhance rather than relax security measures, just a *few* years longer of the arms race, forcing the said bloc still to divert resources to protective armaments rather than improving the standard of living, and perhaps (the 999,999th 'perhaps' since 1917) the whole thing will collapse. Second, if, with a warmer climate between the two blocs, the peoples of the Western countries should question the necessity for 'defence' purposes of maintaining Western armed forces at their present level, *if* they should then desire to reduce or abandon drafts and conscription and progress to the third phase reductions of armed forces proposed by Mr. Zorin, how could the West continue its defensive battles in Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, Algeria, Yemen, Oman or its threats to undertake such defences wherever local peoples should show signs of wishing to share with their local sheiks the bunce from local oil? The generals are quite frank about this (see MacArthur's recent statement), they rely on the legend of Soviet intractability over disarmament and threat to

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the 'Western way of life' to get their jungle fodder. Third, there is the new Kissinger thesis. If H-bombs have produced a stalemate, so that a war *à l'outrance* is too dangerous for either side, does not this mean that the brass-hats can once more conduct limited war with impunity with the old-fashioned weapons, since it will be against the other side's interest to extend it? This thesis has been produced neither in a madhouse nor in some underground gangster's den, but quite openly as the fruit of the highest intellectual efforts of the U.S. general staff, and the joy that it has evoked in be-medalled breasts, everywhere from Bournemouth to the columns of military expertise in *The Times,* is a measure of three things, the sincerity of the pretended gratification at the pretended 'deterrent' qualities of nuclear weapons, the sincerity with which such gentry approached the whole problem of terminating war, and the future military budgets we may expect now that they will try to make us pay for their popguns to play with *as well as* for the nuclear weapons whose imagined function is to be to make such a game safe for them.

These gentlemen fear, and *have decided against* any settlements. And it is up to those who have decided *for* settlements to expose their tactics and not pull their punches out of any fancy that said gentry can be smarmed out of their positions. They can only be bulldozed. Everybody knows that a sincere policy of peace would be conducted in quite a different way from that of the Western non-negotiators. First, it would stop the tests, quite separately from anything else. Second, it would seek a settlement in Europe that did not pretend there is no Eastern Germany, one in the Far East that included recognition of and co-operation with China, one in the Middle East that did not try to pretend the adjacent U.S.S.R. is less legitimately concerned with its fate than distant U.K. and distanter U.S.A., and settlements in freedom-seeking colonial countries that did not pretend democracy and self-determination were the exclusive sacred right of Hungarian fascists and Mississipi emasculators. Third, it would simultaneously negotiate a phased general disarmament, including renunciation of nuclear warfare (unless attacked by nuclear weapons) at least on a temporary basis, while the phases of reduction were actively pursued. Fourth, it would make aid a matter not of rivalry but of co-operation. I say: everybody knows it. And they do. They know that not one of these problems can be solved except *along these lines.* And the measure of their sincerity is the measure of their readiness to examine and pursue them. There is *no* question that does not

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

require this approach. Those who prate of 'Hungarian freedom' while opposing the single security system and associated troop withdrawals which alone can relax European tension, those who prate of 'Israel-Arab co-existence' while insisting on their own sole entitlement to apportion arms to either according to their degree of subservience, are concerned with the welfare neither of Hungary nor Israel, they care only for Cold War.

We should not fear to say this. To call the spade of the nuclear poisoners who are engaged in preparing the world for mass burial the spade it is, or even a b—— shovel. Peace cannot be won by formalistically advocating something exactly half-way between the two sides, like the Irish judge who held the balance evenly between justice and injustice. It happens that, at the present moment, one side is advocating courses that all the world knows can lead to peace, the other is determined to obstruct them. The caricatures that, with pretended broadmindedness, portray 'a plague on both your houses', pretending, for example, that both U.S.S.R. and the West are equally responsible for the continuance of nuclear tests, are lies that can only sidetrack the peoples' desire for peace, often are deliberately intended to do so. With pretended liberalism, and knowing their friends to be indefensible, the 'equal-blamers' seek unjustly to make the peoples as disgusted with Soviet proposals as they are, already and justly, with the Western obstruction. A Soviet nuclear test is every whit as poisonous and injurious as a Western test. Who denies it? But nothing can equate the Soviet demand for universal ending of the tests with the West's refusal. Eisenhower and Macmillan, in their crude ignorance of scientific fact, their talk about the possibility of 'purity', their steady insistence on filling the world with a poison whose known effects will cause suffering and premature death to thousands upon thousands, distortion and agony to generations yet to come, and the limits of whose evil potentialities are yet even unguessed, it is these who are the enemies of mankind.

The Nazis died upon the gallows for their crimes of war. What is the fitting punishment for this genocide deliberately committed in a period of peace? Let us be less concerned about punishment than about bringing the crime to an end. We ourselves, everyone of us, share the guilt of those who speak and act in our name if we fail to prevent them. We are not so weak any longer. We include Pope as well as Red. The so-called 'uncommitted' nations are uncommitted only as between 'blocs', on these issues they are wholeheartedly on our side. On the tests our side includes not only the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

majority of non-American governments but the majority of the American people. Not only the Labour Party and the unanimous Trades Union Congress but the majority of Conservatives. The murderers are afraid of us. See how elaborately they doled out their pretended 'disarmament' proposals in dribs and drabs to try to confuse and damp down the agitation for test-ending, and tried to time their completion to hinder discussion at the General Assembly and keep the question within the restricted circle of their cosy dominated Sub-Committee. Men like Macmillan believe, with their contempt for public opinion, as (typical Tories) they believed over Suez and believe over the cost of living and the rent act, that all you have to do when the people protest is to ignore them, keep your head and ride out the storm. Hold your course and the row will die down. Not this time. Anger is accumulating irreversibly, just as the poison the radiation-mongers spread accumulates irreversibly in our food, our drink, our bodies and our seed. What is restraining us? We used to wonder by what magic a handful of concentration camp guards contrived to induce millions to walk docilely into the gas chambers. Yet now, each day that humanity allows these smug gentry to continue insisting on increasing the level of radioactivity on earth, thousands of millions approach nearer to a no less certain ultimate doom. Those in the camps died for lack of unity, lack of understanding of what was happening, and, above all, inability to credit the evil of which those who ordered them were capable. To gain this understanding, achieve this unity, this for mankind is now—literally for all, for now and for the future —the matter of life and death.

JOAN TUCKETT, *play-producer and teacher, for many years a valued friend to 'Labour Monthly', died on August 31, 1957.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RISING TIDE AT BLACKPOOL

E. M. WINTERTON

AS Tom Williamson said in his presidential address at the 89th Trades Union Congress on Monday, September 2, so far as strike statistics are concerned 'the total lost time this year will exceed that for any other years since 1926'. That alone will make 1957 a remarkable year. But in addition the T.U.C. at Blackpool, itself stands out because one would have to go back before the General Strike of 1926 for any parallel to its series of decisions, inspired with working class militancy and with genuine statesmanlike concern for the destinies of Britain and the world.

Crystal-gazers might perhaps have guessed what was coming from one feature of Williamson's speech itself. It was almost entirely devoted to an academic exposition of the old principles of the Liberal trade unionism of the 'eighties, of which he is such a gifted champion. It is 'workers and management' who produce goods, said the president: industry must 'earn us all a living'—employers as well as workers: let both sides promote 'our common interests': 'industrial democracy' would prevail if only employers did not act dictatorially: and 'our difficulties really arise' from full employment since the war —not from the existence of the capitalism system, that is. But what the speech was silent about was the real issues worrying the workers —how to get higher wages, how to help the old age pensioners in their bitter plight, what next with the Rent Act, how to get a shorter working week without loss of earnings, should more industries be nationalised by the next Labour Government? what to do about the terrible menace of war, the state of relations with the Soviet trade unions, and above all how to give effect to the universal desire to stop nuclear tests and ban nuclear weapons.

On all these questions sharp divisions exist in the labour movement, not only in practice but even in theory: and such a notable mouthpiece of right-wing policy as the secretary of the General and Municipal Workers might have been expected to state the case for his side. But he was silent—and his silence proved to be a portent.

For on all these questions the Congress adopted forward-looking if not always absolutely consistent decisions. On Tuesday it adopted a Transport Workers' resolution declaring the plight of the old age pensioners to be 'a national scandal' and demanding of the Government 'an immediate and substantial increase' in pension rates, with periodical reviews 'to ensure that their real value keeps pace with

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the cost of living': welcoming 'in general principle' the Labour Party's superannuation plan: but regrettably omitting the pensioners' own demand for £3 weekly for each person. On Wednesday Congress approved an Electrical Trades Union motion that many problems of the dangerous European situation could be solved, the unification of Germany achieved and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Europe effected 'by the establishment of a system of collective security involving all European countries and including the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.' On Thursday it reaffirmed (on the motion of the Transport Workers, Mineworkers, Woodworkers and other unions) 'the determination of the trade union movement, while prices and profits remain uncontrolled, to take such steps, industrially, as will ensure that wages keep pace with rising costs'. It accepted a Foundry Workers' resolution declaring 'full support to affiliated unions in their effort to secure a shorter working week with no loss of pay' and to establish for all manual workers a maximum eight-hour day and forty-hour week. In another resolution, moved by the Boilermakers, the Congress called upon the next Labour Government to repeal the 'iniquitous Rent Act'. Further, Congress instructed the General Council 'to work for the implementation' of its policy, adopted at the 1952 Congress, in favour of more social ownership of industry, particularly where there is 'monopoly control'—so that the trade union movement can help 'in shaping Labour's next general election programme'. On Friday Congress demanded 'that the six hundred million people of China should, without delay, be invited to join the United Nations Organisation' (a Furnishing Trades resolution). It carried with enthusiasm a Cinetechnicians' and Foundry Workers' resolution demanding that the British Government should propose 'the immediate unconditional suspension of (nuclear) tests, to the Governments of other Powers directly concerned, as a first step towards the banning of all nuclear weapons': at the same time the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (to which the T.U.C. belongs) was requested 'to recommend similar action by all member trade union movements'.

Now, the striking thing about many of these decisions was that they were a direct challenge to the policy of the Labour Party Executive (on European security, on repeal of the Rent Act, on social ownership) or of the General Council itself (on the wage-freeze, on the forty-hour week, on unconditional suspension of tests), or of the I.C.F.T.U. and the U.S. Government (the resolutions on European security, on China and on nuclear tests). Yet not on one of them was a card vote necessary—because not on a single one of them

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

did the right-wing majority of the General Council challenge the issue. Even on social ownership Mr. Heywood, spokesman for the General Council, did not support Mr. Gunter (Transport Salaried Staffs) when the latter sneered—doubtless echoing common talk in the Labour Party Executive of which he is a member—that these were 'the slogans of half a century ago'. The unquestionable fact is that on all these questions the mass of the British working class has made up its mind, and made its voice heard in the unions: and that the right-wing majority on the General Council, discovering this when it enquired how the various union delegations were going to vote, avoided battle.

For this it has been bitterly attacked by its usual Tory admirers. 'The moderates preferred to keep quiet rather than face defeat', wrote *The Times* (September 7). 'No fight came from the platform', said the *Telegraph* the same day. Of course one reason was that the 'platform' itself was severely divided, owing to the change towards a more militant attitude by the Transport Workers' delegation, led by Frank Cousins, with its 1,264,000 votes. But this is itself a sign that the workers' rising hatred of Tory policy and its consequences can change all the old landmarks in the labour movement, providing its champions are determined enough.

It is noteworthy, too, that on several issues when the General Council's report was severely criticised for actions which have pleased employers or the Tories very much, its spokesmen did not try to defend it. This happened on Wednesday, when Actors Equity Association and the Musicians Union attacked head-on dishonest and malignant attempts by the I.C.F.T.U. to split the Internationals in the entertainments industry merely because they include (in the interests of the professions concerned) unions in the Socialist countries. It happened, the same day, when Bowman (Railwaymen) advised the General Council to reconsider its attempt (blatantly supported at Congress by the unbelievably ranting 'fraternal' speeches of the American delegates) to stop exchanges with the Soviet trade unions, and intimated that the National Union of Railwaymen was shortly sending a delegation to the U.S.S.R. by decision of its annual conference and at the invitation of Soviet railwaymen. It happened again on Friday when Frank Foulkes (E.T.U.) protested against the General Council's banning, quite unjustifiably, of an international conference of electrical workers called by his union for strictly industrial and technical discussions.

The Congress, in short, dealt a number of blows to capitalist influences within the working-class movement: and contrary to what

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Poems by MAO TSE-TUNG

Translated by Rewi Alley

AT DA BAI DI

Rain over, and a rainbow
with all its colour;
who dances with such radiant silks?
a clear sky, a setting sun
and mountains sinking into dusk;
once at this very place
we fought a tough battle
and shells knocked holes
in village walls; but now
with this quiet serenity, all
has returned to loveliness.

AT KWEICHANG

On the east day breaks;
do not say we have started too early
for though we have gone so far
yet we are still young in heart, and ever
nature paints us scenes
full of beauty;
outside Kweichang city
rises a steep hill running
far to the east; our fighters climb
pointing south down into Kwangtung
standing among the green trees
so thickly growing.

(World Copyright Reserved)

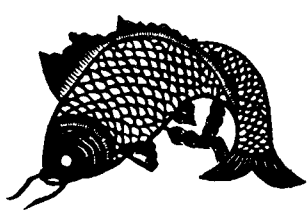
PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON NEW YEAR'S DAY

Ninghua, Chinglieu, Kweihua, places where
the roads are narrow, the forests
deep, the way slippery; today
where do we march? Straight on
to the foot of the Wu-I-Shan and our banners
along the winding way
make a brilliant picture.

AT LO SHAN PASS

Blows a stiff west wind
wild geese cry as they
stream through the heavens
a frosty dawn and a moon
not yet set; the sound
of horses hooves rings
sharply through the air, and come
the notes of a bugle, long drawn out
with their touch of sadness;
do not say that this great pass
is so hard to cross; for we on foot
can climb over its head; and
as we come to the summit, looking down
around us, the clouds are spread
like a sea below; evening now,
and the setting sun has changed all
to the colour of blood.



PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reporters of the capitalist press have written, well known Communists speaking on behalf of their unions made a considerable contribution to its deliberations (particularly on resolutions which were adopted).

It would be foolish, of course, to ignore the dark spots in the picture. On Wednesday, although with obvious misgivings, the Congress passed the special proposals of the General Council to raise £500,000—6d. per head a year for three years—for an 'International Solidarity Fund', the purposes of which were far from clearly defined. One of its uses is to finance 'free trade unionism' in the British Empire —on which the General Council's record in recent years deserves special study, since it appears to indicate that 'free trade unions' are only those which accept the political views of the Labour Party leaders, backed by the police rule, the military forces and the Governor's 'reserved powers' of British Imperialism. This appeared very transparently in Sir Vincent Tewson's replies on Friday, to criticisms of the General Council's report on Cyprus and Singapore (paragraphs 179 and 238). On the Thursday, when Leo McGree (A.S.W.) used his rights, as an individual delegate, for a courageous statement of the truth about the attempted counter-revolution in Hungary last autumn—perverted in the General Council's report—the booing of a large section of the delegates showed that passage of time has not yet opened their eyes to the hoax practised on them by imperialist propaganda (how often before!). However, the capitalist newspapers themselves atoned for it next day by printing more of the truth (from McGree's speech) than at any time since last November! Again, the Congress on Thursday passed the General Council's report favouring the scheme for a European 'Free Trade zone'; although the reservations made on all sides about the need for safeguards for the workers, and the doubts about how to get them, showed deep misgivings here too. And there is food for serious thought in the fact that the new General Council itself—whose composition is virtually decided by bargaining between the six big unions which between them cast 4,314,000 votes out of 8,304,000—showed no essential change.

But the fact that it was policies, not as yet personnel, which were changed at Blackpool brings one back to the essential lesson that stands out very clearly. The British working class is on the move again—and will beyond doubt go on further. This should bring encouragement and hope to the delegates of the local Labour Parties at Brighton in October. If they stick to their militant Socialist resolutions in spite of threats and blandishments, they will find a militant and perhaps unexpected response from the trade union delegations.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ALTRINCHAM AFFAIR

'COMMONER'

IT is not the first time in history that a young aristocrat has struck a blow to reform an ancient abuse while 'accredited Labour leaders' have remained mumchance or even been active supporters of the evil involved. Lord Altrincham's service to the workers and the nation—here identical—has been to break the ice: to make a break in that monstrous taboo—the greatest and worst in history—that has been built up round the monarchy since 'the Glorious Revolution', and, in our own day, has been carried to unheard-of lengths. With its accompanying positive propaganda, its main purpose has been to create the illusion of the monarch as a being of almost divine personal excellence; for if the monarchy can be justified on purely personal grounds the institution can be left to look after itself. It is safe from attack. There is thus a double absurdity—a double hypocrisy—in accusing critics of being 'personal'; it is the only approach left by the royalists themselves. When at the coronation Dr. Fisher said that 'the greatest of God's gifts to the nation in these anxious and challenging times has been the grand succession of the Queen's grandparents, King George V and Queen Mary, the Queen's parents, King George VI and the Queen Mother, and now the Queen herself', he was building up round the monarchy what he hoped would be an impregnable wall of purely personal qualities: he was converting the monarchy itself into a semi-sacred institution. Nevertheless there is a certain justification for the criticism of Lord Altrincham: there always is of aristocratic interventions into politics. Inevitably the aristocrat is always to some extent personal: it is a reflection of his own mainly personal place in society. It is notorious that certain exalted families have always been bitterly contemptuous of the monarch and the royal family. But this is not because of any popular sympathies on their part or because the popular forces have anything to hope from them. It is merely because they despise the royal family as 'socially lower' than themselves: as 'German upstarts'. Lord Altrincham has put himself into the absurd position of professing 'intense loyalty' to an institution that subjects him to insult and personal violence and of believing it can be improved by intensifying the very evil of which he complains: by flattering the Queen with a belief that she can improve on her present performance. What happens when she does not?

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the real evil of this 'cult of personality'—the most determined, unscrupulous and ridiculous in history—is that it is precisely by this means that the royalists of today are seeking to make the monarchy permanent and to give it an immensely extended influence: in the words of the Canon of Westminster Abbey, to secure that it shall last 'please God, for at least another thousand years', with, in the words of Winston Churchill, 'a meaning infinitely more powerful than anyone believed possible in former times'. Up to about the 'twenties there was a belief in all classes, except perhaps Court circles, that 'in due course the monarchy would wither away', that 'there was no need to worry about it because before very long it would disappear in the natural course of things', etc., etc. But now that is all changed. With the serious onset of the popular movement, the forces of wealth and privilege in the country came to see the institution as their own best protection, as the assurance of their own wealth and privileges: just as many Protestants in Europe have been content to build up the Roman Catholic church again as 'the main bulwark' against Communism; and today they are pressing forward with the attempt, utterly regardless of its effects on the nation. It is Munich all over again: the deliberate sacrifice of the nation by the upper classes for their own purposes. The perpetual personal propaganda; the constant recording by story and picture—sometimes the two contradict each other—of the most minute doings of the monarch and the royal family; the constant exploitation of the 'appeal' of the younger members; the constant exhibition of the monarch and other royalties against the spectacular and doubly useful military background: for the first time in history an English, or any other, Queen has a specially designed uniform and bonnet in which to 'ride at the head of her troops', and this at the purely militaristic Troopings of the Colours; the constant pictures of the royal sides of Parliament, with 'glittering military escorts', etc., etc., to the ever-increasing neglect of their real proceedings; the use of films of the royal tours: recently two of the main cinema circuits refused to accept the Nigerian tour film, on the ground that it lacked popular appeal, but this was remedied by its exhibition by command on television; the Lyings-in-State; the now established rule of canonising the monarchs on death and erecting huge statues to them on the most prominent sites in London; the proclamations that they 'died for their people', when, had it not been for the endless care expended on them, they would probably have died years before; the popular (apparently wholly unsuccessful) subscription appeals for 'suitable memorials', etc., etc.: above all, the use of language of almost idolatrous flattery

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—this, and the taboo, are the means by which ever-increasingly the royalists are trying to create this figure of an almost divine monarch, reigning 'in her own right'. As Sir Winston Churchill also said: 'It is the function of Parliaments to talk and of the Queen to shine', and: 'we have an excellent rule. The Queen can do no wrong'. The parallel with fascism with its pagan cult of a 'hero Fuehrer' hardly requires emphasis. Already, to quote Dr. Fisher again, 'the Queen takes us into the presence of the living God'; already 'her creative work for us is fruitful, partly by virtue of her office, but vastly more by the influence of her own dignity and wisdom and grace'; already 'she goes before us with the dignity and strong purpose of youth to meet the future in confidence and hope', etc., etc. If this was not apotheosis it was next door to it. It is no wonder that seriously and amid general applause, the writer, Geoffrey Dennis, in his book *Coronation Commentary* should have described an English coronation as the process of 'changing a man into a God'. And this process is to continue indefinitely, with an ever-expanding 'meaning'.

At the same time precisely the opposite process is going on in the Commonwealth, especially, it must be noted, in view of the well-known royalist propaganda, in the non-White areas. At the very moment when demented royalists are rushing about Britain exclaiming, 'the crown is the link of the Commonwealth'; 'the crown is the only possible link of the Commonwealth'; 'without it the Commonwealth would fly apart'; 'no crown, no Commonwealth: it's as simple as that', etc., etc.: the Commonwealth is already more than half-republican, while the political leaders of the overseas monarchical areas—already completely republican in their modes of life—are searching for ever-increasingly tenuous *formulæ* under which to fit the monarchy into their own ever-increasing repudiation of its authority. The current subdivision of the Queen into seven (and now eight) Queens—now that non-White areas are being admitted into the Commonwealth, will she be periodically dyed black?—was not the result of a determination on their part to 'have her to themselves', but to their refusal to accept the authority of an 'English Queen'. The monarchy exists as the symbol of a threefold superiority: personal, family and national (English) and it is increasingly unacceptable in the Commonwealth on all three grounds.

These things are open and visible in the eyes of all men. Every hour of every day our ears are deafened by the unending royal chorus. But apparently the eyes of the right-wing Labour leaders are blind

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and their ears are deaf. Gaitskell 'praised God for the monarchy'. Morrison wrote a book in its support: a book largely and inevitably based on the perverse conclusions of the 19th century snob, Walter Bagehot. When it appeared the *Observer* appropriately described it as 'Bagehot with a Quiff': Bagehot but more vulgar.

Compared with these issues a few personal criticisms of the Queen do indeed sink into insignificance. If the Queen and the rest of the royal family were everything they are proclaimed to be—if instead of having a voice that is a pain in the neck to Lord Altrincham the Queen spake with the tongues of men and of angels—the institution would remain an ever-increasing menace to both nation and Commonwealth: an institution that was once great but has now in the ordinary process of time 'gone bad'.

THE MORE IT CHANGES . . .

From Queen Elizabeth II to the League of Empire Loyalists

'I have laid before the Queen your telegram of August 3 and Her Majesty much appreciates the loyal sentiments which you express on behalf of the League of Empire Loyalists.'

(Published August 8, 1957.)

(On the same day a man who proclaimed himself a member of The League was fined 20s. at Bow Street, for publicly assaulting Lord Altrincham.)

From Emperor Nicholas II to the Union of the Russian People (Black Hundreds)

'I thank you for your sincere sentiments. . . . Thank all the Russian people who have joined the Union of the Russian People.'

(December 23, 1905, published in *Moskovskie Vedemosti,* No. 12, 1906.)

(Remarks in reply to loyal speeches by a deputation of the Union, led by its President, Dr. Dubrovin, and received by the Tsar at Tsarskoye Selo.)

Have you seen the letter from the toolmaker in Wiltshire on the inside front cover? and might you be passing his way shortly with car or van?

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A VOICE FROM SYRIA

DR. MUSTAFA AMINE

[*We are pleased to print this article, specially written for* Labour Monthly *by Dr. Mustafa Amine. Dr. Amine, who is a jurist, takes an active part in the national movement and is secretary of the Syria Peace Committee.—Ed., L.M.*]

EVER since Syria won her independence and forced foreign troops to leave her territory, she has been the object of attack and of repeated conspiracies by the imperialists. It is perhaps difficult to enumerate the shocks which Syria had to bear in the ten years following her liberation from foreign occupation in 1946. But the Syrian people in the end overcame the dictatorial régime which the imperialists had foisted upon them and which they set themselves to exploit to the utmost; the imperialist forces did not succeed in tying Syria up to the 'Mutual Security' Pact nor to what was then called 'the Eastern Mediterranean Command'. That is why they turned to a new procedure, aimed at dominating parliament and the main organs of power, reckoning in that way to attach Syria to their war plans by 'democratic' means. The imperialists had to dominate the army, to subdue it into carrying out their will, to making it their tool—as is the case with certain Middle East armies now under their control. That is what prompted them to perpetrate the conspiracy (April, 1955) aimed at assassinating the national hero Lieut.-Colonel Adnan Malki: he led the honest officers in the army who were an insurmountable obstacle to the imperialists' plans, and so had wrecked the schemes of certain politicians put into power after the dictatorial régime had been overthrown.

But the result of this conspiracy was catastrophic for the imperialists and their treasonable agents. It sounded a warning to the Syrian people who unified their efforts and felt once again the need to strengthen solidarity and brotherhood between the people and the army. This happened at the moment when historic resolutions were being carried at Bandung and when positive neutrality had become the foreign policy of the Syrian people.

The people of Syria are resolved unanimously to struggle against all imperialist pacts, under whatever guise. They are unanimous on the need to draw closer the bonds of friendship with all peoples willing to lend their aid to Syria on the basis of mutual interests. In other words the Syrian people are resolved to defend their

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sovereignty and independence at all costs. The firm stand of Syria against the policy of war pacts earned for her the hostility and hatred of the imperialists who made her their number one target in the Middle East, one to be hit at all costs. Contradictions there may be within the imperialist camp, above all between the three dominant powers who look forward to supremacy over the Arab East; but these powers are of one mind on the need for a show-down with Syria, to break the resistance of her people. She played an essential rôle in checking imperialist plans in the Middle East and notably in paralysing the Baghdad Pact. Her gallant resistance to these schemes threatens their total breakdown. This is the explanation of the tempests of hatred and rage blowing over Syria from the direction of Paris, London and Washington. Hence the hysterical campaign from all the propaganda organs, radio, press, etc., spreading slander and lies of the most varying kinds about Syria. It is no exaggeration to say that the imperialists, especially the Americans, in setting their pack of hounds against Syria are spending more than half the funds allotted to Eisenhower under the name of aid to the peoples of the Middle East.

In their plans this hysterical campaign against Syria was prelude to invasion and re-occupation. Syria was their next objective after the invasion of Egypt. They had prepared minutely in secret for subversive actions to be sparked off immediately upon the down-fall of the Nasser government in Egypt. They had provided the conspirators with money, with arms and assistance of all kinds as has been disclosed in the historic trial of the conspirators in Damascus. The imperialists prepared to land on the coast of Latakia, where a French naval squadron awaited the signal.

The schemes of the imperialists foundered and their invasion miscarried in the face of the brave resistance of the Egyptian people, supported by the Arab peoples and the peace-loving peoples of the world, and in the face of the vigorous stand taken by the Soviet Union, expressed in its historic warning. At that time the Syrian authorities fathomed the vile imperialist plot to cause strife and rebellion so as to let armies of occupation intervene, become master of the country and destroy Syria's independence and sovereignty. Syria emerged victorious from this, just as Egypt did. She crushed the plot of the imperialists, she crushed their agents, and exposed the extreme methods, seldom used to destroy a people's liberty and independence.

But the imperialists are incorrigible. They then redouble their rage and hatred against Syria. The campaign of instigations,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

threats and provocation against Syria increases; the United States, boss of the imperialist camp, openly enters the lists. They want to beguile world opinion by inventing lies and calumnies against Syria, that it has 'lost its sovereignty' and become a 'hotbed of Communism' or a 'Soviet base'. They try to hoax the world into the belief that the President of the Council of Syria, the Foreign Minister, the officers of the army and the political parties—even where imperialist agents abound—have all become Communists.

The American imperialists were frantic, not able to bear that Syria—people, army and government—should reject the Eisenhower doctrine, in which she saw a new imperialism without a mask. The experience of Jordan and the unfolding of events in the Lebanon after the acceptance of the Eisenhower doctrine by those two countries, showed what was its reality. Syria adopted a truly patriotic attitude, jealous for her sovereignty and liberty; and this clearly played a leading part in unmasking the 'doctrine' and putting the Arab people on the alert, in keeping it within bounds and preparing its downfall. That is why Mr. James Richards, Eisenhower's special envoy, returned with plans for new campaigns in his despatch case.

American imperialist circles redoubled pressure against Syria. The campaign of lies and incitement was intensified and the governments of Jordan and the Lebanon joined in, in application of the Eisenhower doctrine. And, as always, Israeli mouthpieces stepped up their activity, renewing their incidents and concentration of troops on the border: once more they prove themselves pledged to be ever at the service of the imperialists' plans, docile instrument against the whole Arab liberation movement, and thus repay the millions of dollars of 'aid' from America and elsewhere.

The American imperialists set about an economic encirclement of Syria, went in for dumping in the foreign market against her products and obstructed her trade outlets. Banks subservient to them played a servile part in trying to make Syrian economy appear in anarchy and confusion, to raise doubts of the stability of the currency. But this was not all. There was American backing for skilled specialists in *putsches* and outrages, and a new plot laid on aimed at removing army officers and reversing the political situation. But once again Syria laid bare the new plot and emerged victorious from this battle also.* The American imperialists resur-

*In the investigation in Damascus allegations were made that the United States Embassy had sheltered saboteurs and subversive agents. Later, certain officials of that Embassy were expelled from Syria.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rected the methods of the Middle Ages in diplomatic relations, and added those of military *putsches,* espionage and shameless interference in internal affairs.

They lay siege to Syria by means of the Eisenhower Doctrine, set themselves to starve out her people, destroy her economy and close traditional markets to her trade and industry. Naturally enough Syria sought new markets, new countries with which to reach agreements, to break the throttling grip, escape from the entirely manufactured crisis and checkmate the American imperialist encirclement. The much discussed Syrian-Soviet economic agreement, reached in Moscow in July by the Syrian government delegation, was the most decisive reply to the conspiracy against Syrian economy. The Syrian people, in all its social strata, regards it as one of the biggest victories gained in her struggle for sovereignty and liberty. They are deeply grateful for the friendship of the Soviet Union who gave her help at the critical moment. They see this economic agreement as further proof of the respect entertained by the Soviet state for the sovereignty of those with whom they establish economic relations—respect for the principles of peaceful co-existence based on non-interference, and mutual trade without political or military conditions.

Our people have gained a deeper faith in the justice of their cause, and a new confidence from the increased support which their self-defence earned them from world public opinion. Their trust in their faithful friends within the socialist camp, in particular the Soviet Union, grew greater.

The Syrian people fully understand that every time an imperialist scheme collapses another will be invented, a new performance staged. They are fully conscious that the increasing might of the people and the army, sustained by the strength of the Arab peoples and the forces of right, liberty and peace in the world—that all these are much stronger than the forces of evil, war and imperialism, stronger than all the fleets, lies, provocation and tricks. They believe that threats and slanders, conspiracies and economic siege, are destined to frustration and failure. They knew the sympathy of world opinion for the Egyptian people during the treacherous aggression against them. They know they too will find the same help and support in all the trials through which they must pass in their struggle for social development, raising of living standards and a free and independent life side by side with all the peoples of the world seeking a life of well-being, liberty and peace.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MORRIS, MARXISM AND TYPOGRAPHY

ALLEN HUTT

WHETHER you choose to regard printing in general as the 'art preservative of all the arts' or typography in particular, in Stanley Morison's perhaps over-modest phrase as 'a minor technicality of civilised life', is not of great moment. Of all the arts the graphic arts have the widest and most continuous impact on the mass of the people; so from every point of view it is right that the first major effort of the William Morris Society should be the organising of an exhibition entitled 'The Typographical Adventure of William Morris'. What emerges above all from this admirable and impressive display—completing its national tour this month in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow—is the historic rôle of Morris as the direct inspirer of the revolution which in the past half-century has totally transformed typography, the basis of the art of printing.

To study this exhibition and its catalogue (a work of scholarship by Ronald Briggs which will be of permanent value) is to appreciate how the culmination of Morris' life work in the Kelmscott Press and its matchless products was a true culmination of his thought and action as a Socialist, a revolutionary Marxist Socialist, a Communist. The notion that Morris' printing was a piece of escapism, an artistic refuge from a political impasse, is totally untenable. His so-characteristic dying words, 'I want to get mumbo-jumbo out of the world', were the words of a revolutionary; and the Kelmscott Press was his pioneer effort to get mumbo-jumbo out of printing.

In opening this exhibition Morison himself, the most eminent typographer alive but no Marxist, stressed the connection between Morris' typography and his Marxism and further exploded the conventional idea that Morris, with his emphasis on hand craftsmanship, was opposed to the machine as such. Morris was opposed to the misuse of the machine; the machine-printing that developed with 19th century capitalism gravely deteriorated the quality of presswork. Machine-composition had then hardly begun; but the quality of type-setting had been disastrously lowered by the drive to increase output at all costs. Without doubt Morris would have delighted in the superb quality that the precision of modern machine-composition and machine-printing makes possible.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Morris' hand-press and his Italianate incunable types were not the essence of his revolutionary contribution to typography. The thing that mattered was his approach. He inspired, as Morison puts it, through 'his passion for perfect craftsmanship and his wholehearted application to detail'. And that inspiration, as the noted Italian typographer and printer Giovanni Mardersteig says, 'has been a decisive factor in the development of present-day typography, even though the results achieved have little connection with the starting-point'.

The fact is that, after Morris, typography—for all the deadweight of Victorian mumbo-jumbo and its Edwardian successors—could never be the same. To trace the extent of his inspiration country by country, typographer by typographer, would require a volume. But following his luminous example there came great artists in type-design like the American Frederic W. Goudy, the Englishman Eric Gill. There came typographers like Stanley Morison and Francis Meynell. There came printers like George W. Jones, Gerard Meynell and J. H. Mason. In their varying ways these, and very many others, developed the typographical repertory of the composing machine to the richness of our own day. Bernard Shaw, too, insisted in following Morris' precepts in the production of his own books, which he supervised throughout; and the propaganda effect of their apt and elegant setting was of marked importance.

Morris the typographer, to conclude, was one aspect of Morris the Marxist. Those last years at the Kelmscott Press were every whit as revolutionary in their content and implications as the stormy years of the Socialist League and Bloody Sunday. Of Morris it could truly be said, as did he himself of his old Russian comrade Stepniak, 'he died as he had lived, a revolutionary to the end'. That he inspired the modern revolution in typography is conceded by every expert; let us always appreciate that his Marxism, his revolutionary Socialism, lay at the heart of his great legacy of inspiration in the field of the printed word.

Nor, indeed, should there be any difficulty in understanding the living connection of Marxism and typography, of which Morris was the first and greatest example. Few, if any, arts, are more profoundly dialectical than the art of printing. Throughout it presents a series of contradictions which the Marxist is, or should be, peculiarly able to grasp and resolve; the contradiction between theory and practice, of course, but also that between form and content, art and science, beauty and utility (and, in the case of the newspaper or periodical, time and space).

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOUR DISCUSSION FORUM

CONTROVERSY *on Israel and the Arab Middle East is heading this month's Forum, with a contribution from Professor Levy criticising the August Notes on this topic, and a reply by R.P.D. This leaves room for only two letters on Women's Wages, one from a leading figure in a large Scottish engineering works, the other a Londoner on the district committee of her union. With an interesting sidelight on U.S. economic—and political?—penetration of Canada, our pages are filled to overflowing. Last day for November (short letters, please!): Monday, October 7, to:—*

THE EDITOR, LABOUR DISCUSSION FORUM,
134, Ballards Lane,
London, N.3.

★

Controversy on Israel

Palme Dutt's facts are correct but they give as warped a picture of Israel as the capitalist press gives of the Soviet Union. During the past decade Jews have fled in fear and hope from Egypt, North Africa, and Central and Eastern Europe to Israel, where they have created a nation fulfilling Stalin's definition. In a peculiar historical sense this has been a movement of national liberation, which I, a non-Zionist, must recognise. Early in this process 90,000 Arabs also fled in fear into neighbouring Arab lands. Thus in this way the Jews have passed on to the Arabs part of the historic injustice meted out to themselves. Jewish workers and Arab peasants are joint victims, and in this struggle for survival it is futile to set out, as Dutt does, the 'rights' of this group as against that. It is a problem of joint struggle, on opposite sides of the border taking on its special form. On the Israeli side (as a Jew but a Britisher I am not allowed to cross into an Arab land) science and technology are being feverishly applied to develop the natural resources, to expand modern capitalist industry, and to cultivate the land (largely nationalised) on co-operative lines. There is a strong Socialist movement, a legal C.P.—the only one in the Middle East—and three at least of the political parties have Arab members in the Knesset. The class struggle is sharp. As I write the Ata textile workers have been on strike for three months, and Mapam, from *within* the Government, has stopped Ben Gurion from interfering. On the other side of the border, Arab landowners, waxing fat on concessions to imperialist agents, have no interest in their vast tracts of untilled soil, except to prevent their 900,000 landless brethren from resettling. Arab liberation must mean the emancipation of these hapless peasants from their poverty and their medieval way of life, modernising their agriculture and clearing away sheiks and landlords.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All this exists in the region through which runs the line of maximum tension, between the U.S.S.R. and the imperialist powers. It is no exaggeration to say that on this turns the key problem in the world today—that of co-existence. So much so, that Dutt can write *'Whatever supports the anti-imperialist struggle, irrespective of the class composition of the forces in the anti-imperialist camp, is fulfilling a progressive rôle.'* So this is the reason why he gives us no class analysis of the Arab side; no explanation of whom Nasser, the spokesman of Arab liberation, stands for; or why, for nine years, his Arab kinsmen have been kept landless in Gaza: only a detailed statement of the injustices meted out to the Arabs by the Jews. In this peculiar sense, therefore, Dutt assures us that 'The victory of *Arab liberation* [my italics —H.L.] may be regarded as certain in the near future'. I will chalk this prophecy up along with the many about the 'final inevitable crisis'.

So now we can be realistic about it all. The over-riding world issue is peace or war, and the immediate class struggle is not only subsidiary to this, but if necessary can be used as a tool, quite cynically, to resolve this greater problem. If, of course, the class struggle also then automatically resolves itself, well and good! On the other hand, if to the greater end it is necessary to set one section of the workers against another, also well and good. Is this what is intended? Let us look at it.

For obvious reasons there is sharp antagonism at the present moment between Jewish Israeli workers and displaced Arab peasants. Naturally the leaders of all the Arab States exploit this antagonism for their own class ends, as a diversion. This is the usual thing, and Jews have come to expect it. Now, however, come the Soviet-Arabic Broadcasts, rubbing in every border incident as an illustration of Israeli anti-Arab aggression, and exacerbating the antagonism between Jews who have had a raw deal and Arabs who also have had a raw deal. For what purpose? Israel, we are assured, is the spearhead of American imperialism in the Middle East. By constant reiteration of this theme anti-Israeli feeling can easily be directed into anti-imperialist channels, and in the struggle against imperialism in the Middle East that serves the greater good. If co-existence is to be achieved, imperialism in that area must be brought to a halt, and if this sharpening of antagonism can help to do so—why not?

What other explanation is there? Perhaps the Israeli people are indeed acting as the spearhead of American imperialism — deliberately. But there are no American troops on Israeli soil, no bases or jumping-off grounds for atomic carriers, no oil worth talking about, a legal C.P., a Marxist wing of the Labour Party larger than the C.P. itself. It is obvious that the Israeli people are the victims of American finance, and in this sense are no more the spearhead of American imperialism than were the Indian people of British imperialism during the Occupation. Was Israeli's recent attack on Egypt done in collusion with Britain and France or with America? That the outcome of Ben Gurion's lunatic 'preventive war' enabled the U.S.A. to manœuvre itself into a stronger position is true. But how much of this was cause and how much effect?

The fact is that the Soviet reasons for arming the Arab States against imperialist attack have never been understood by the Israeli people. To them it was merely arming neighbours who have persistently threatened revenge against them-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selves. 'The Soviet Union is driving us into the arms of the U.S.A.', I heard on all sides from people who for good historical reasons have tremendous sympathy with the U.S.S.R. So generally it seems clear that in the face of the danger of international war, a cynical attitude towards the realities of the class struggle is being adopted. If this is what Dutt is trying to explain when he says what I have written in italics above, let us have it bluntly. There is no necessity to make a Marxist virtue out of it.

HYMAN LEVY,

Wimbledon.

. . . And R.P.D. Replies

Professor Levy admits that 'the facts' of the August Notes are 'correct', but seeks to challenge the interpretation. His arguments have in fact already been answered by the arguments of the August Notes; but it may be useful to endeavour to clarify one or two points of very elementary principle.

In the old days of the Indian national struggle 'ultra-socialist' supporters of Labour imperialism used to deride the Communists for their support of the Indian national liberation movement as equivalent to abandoning a 'Marxist' 'class' 'socialist' standpoint: since the Indian National Congress was led by the bourgeoisie and financed by millionaires; and a mere change of exploiters could be of no interest to the working class. This would-be 'Marxist' 'class' approach was in reality support of imperialism in practice; since it denied the duty of a consistent international socialist in an oppressor imperialist country to build a fighting alliance with the national liberation movement of a country oppressed by 'his own' imperialism.

Levy has fallen into this old familiar trap of Labour imperialist propaganda. Here he demands that our attitude to the Arab national liberation movement should be based on an analysis of its internal class composition. He is horrified at the suggestion that we should support the Arab liberation movement, irrespective of class composition, in so far as it fights against imperialism. He denies the decisive measure of progressive or reactionary in a country subjected to imperialism is the attitude to imperialism.

The Arab people are today faced with the first necessity (on which all further progress depends) to win national liberation from imperialism, that is, to end the imperialist armed occupation of their territory, imposing of military blocs and bases, and domination and exploitation of their resources. This national liberation struggle requires the national unity, or common national front, of all classes, sections, or individuals prepared to support the national struggle. This is not 'cynical' opportunism, but corresponds to the interests of any people engaged in a struggle for national liberation.

Traitors are those monarchist and feudal elements which co-operate with imperialism, like the old King Farouk and court clique in Egypt, King Hussein in Jordan, the Nuri dictatorship in Iraq. The Nasser régime in Egypt represents the first stage, whatever the internal shortcomings, of a national patriotic revolution which has overthrown the pro-imperialist King Farouk and court clique, ended imperialist occupation, and courageously resisted imperialist pressure, threats and armed invasion. The imperialist fury against Syria is precisely because the National Front, composed of socialists, communists and national patriots, has won the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

majority in parliament, maintains its government on this basis, and resists imperialist pressure.

Similarly on Israel Levy ignores imperialism. He presents a picture of poor Jewish workers seeking refuge from persecution in Palestine, and thus finds their position parallel to that of the Arab refugees. Individual Jewish settlement in Palestine took place for decades before the Balfour Declaration; there was no Arab-Jewish problem then. It only arose when British imperialism conquered Palestine, made Palestine a colony, and for this purpose made an official alliance with Zionism (with the Rothschilds and Melchetts, not with poor Jews), in order to settle hundreds of thousands of Jews in Palestine as a counter-weight against the Arabs. So arose the first evictions of Arabs.

The United Nations sought to solve the problem, after the settlement of half a million Jews, by the self-determination equally of Jews and Arabs in Palestine to establish a Jewish State and an Arab State. Israel was established, but not the Arab State. The fulfilment of the United Nations decision is still resisted by imperialism and Israel.

The Arab refugees fled from the war, equally from the Jewish armies and the British-commanded Arab armies. They desire to return to their homes in the land where their ancestors have dwelt for centuries. Is this a crime? To demand that they should be settled elsewhere, for example, under the counter-revolutionary military dictatorship in Iraq, is indeed cynical. If the Nazis had settled a million Germans in East Anglia, what would Levy think of scornful criticisms of Canada and Australia for supporting the demand of the dispossessed English to return home in place of settling them in their vast vacant spaces?

A peaceful settlement is possible on the basis of fulfilment of the United Nations decision, self-determination of the Palestine Arabs, and the right of repatriation of the Arab refugees who wish to return to Palestine. President Nasser, the Arab League and all the Arab national leaders have repeatedly declared their readiness for such a peaceful settlement. But this is still resisted by imperialism and the present rulers of Israel, although it corresponds to the true interests of the Israeli people and of all the Middle Eastern peoples.

Levy pours scorn on the view that 'the victory of Arab liberation may be regarded as certain in the near future'. In the past decade four-fifths of the former colonial and dependent peoples have established their independent states, even though in some cases with imperialist encroachments still to be overcome. If Levy really believes that these encroachments will not be overcome, and that the remaining one-fifth will not win their liberation in the near future, he has a more optimistic faith in imperialism and its future than the imperialists themselves.

R. PALME DUTT,
London, N.3.

A Wee Taste of the Workshop

That one-third of the working population are women means that the economy is dependent on seven and a quarter million working women. Only 1½ million of these are organised in the trade union movement and, unfortunately, these figures have remained the same for some time. True, over 52,000 women were recruited into the unions last year, but this hardly scratches the surface of the problem of six million unorganised. My own union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, only has 61,000 mem-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bers out of some 900,000 women in the engineering and electrical trades. It is my opinion that these facts are not dissociated from the fight for equal pay for equal work.

What are the reasons given for this sorry state of affairs? Many and varied. Some complain: 'The unions do not seriously tackle the problems facing women.' People argue: 'The men look on women as inferiors, only dues-paying members.' Whilst all this is true, I do not think it is the whole story. Should laws be passed, for equal pay for equal work? Whilst quite a few countries have such laws, outside the socialist countries how many implement them? Another idea, which your correspondent B. Stern puts forward, is that the unions should campaign for legislation for a national adult minimum rate, as in France. Who determines what this minimum wage rate will be? It seems to me, when it comes to it, only the workers themselves, both men and women, organised and united, pitting their tremendous strength against the employers, will force such laws to be passed—and *implemented*—to enable the workers to get more of the wealth they produce. The job is to get the workers organised, especially the women who are a vast source of cheap labour. Not easy, nevertheless it can be done. Take a few examples of how it happens. During the recent shipbuilding and engineering dispute—our experiences were a tonic!—strikers went to a razor-blade factory on a Glasgow industrial estate to talk to the girls, who were not union members. The mistress stood there outside the doors as the shifts were going out and in; but after conversations in the canteen and through the toilet windows, meetings were held and the girls decided to join and to come on strike. Now they have some semblance of decent treatment, raises no longer depending upon whether the boss likes the colour of one's lipstick. Then there is a small zip-fastener factory, near Glasgow. The girls' wages were £3 19s. whilst learning the job. With a turnover of labour practically every month, it meant the wages paid were never more than £4. One girl joins; the whole lot come into the union; she puts forward a demand for a wage increase and is immediately sacked. Every girl downs tools. The boss had the fright of his life and is already making concessions since he is now up against a united organised force. In my factory of 4,000 workers, 1,000 are women; all are members of the trade union. In 1940 the wages paid to women here were 33s., which was about the average factory wage for girls then. Now they are about £10 (before deductions). This is well above the average paid to women, and applies whether they are two years or 16 years in the factory. This is largely due to organisation, the unity of the men and women in pitting their strength against the employers. And mark this: our level of wages in turn affects all the factories nearby.

It would seem that whilst the trade union movement could do a lot more for women workers, the women themselves must take some responsibility. And they can do it. Take a meeting of 500 women workers, tell them how they are being robbed. The next thing collecting boxes are out, £50 is collected, and a deputation of women are off to London to give the employers a wee taste of the workshop. If those $7\frac{1}{4}$ million women workers do this, we shall be on the way, not only to equal pay, but to Socialism.

AGNES MCLEAN,
A.E.U. *Glasgow.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Watch Out For This!

The letters appearing in the Forum on the subject of the male labourer's rate for women have been varied and interesting in outlook. My contribution does not touch on any of the aspects already raised; many of these have been discussed before in trade union branches, factory workshops and with employers. But there is one thing we ought to be clear on: we in the organised movement should not encourage the use of the term 'Women's Work'. This originated from engineering employers; and they have been able to make capital out of it ever since women entered the industry, both in the monetary sense (profits) and also to isolate the women into a section apart.

We understand of course that there is a difference in types of work throughout the industry; we also know that there is a difference in skill required, that engineering workers are classified thus: 1. Skilled, 2. semi-skilled, 3. Unskilled. But we should not adopt the term 'women's work'. Or should I ask, through these columns if someone can tell me what *is* 'women's work'? If we examine the facts presented by the unions to employers on the 'types of work' women are engaged on, it is clearly established that women are doing an 'engineering job' (for use of a better term).

The introduction of 'new jobs' in a developing radio and television age, neither seen by *men* or *women* before in factories, further demolishes this idea of 'women's work'. The employers in many factories *are* placing women on this work, and when asked what rate for the job will be paid, they reply with a rate based on the women's schedule: 'this is women's work' they say. It is true of course that many organised factories have challenged this, but in general a lot more has to be done on this question.

Again, we know that in a number of factories employers are replacing men by women on certain jobs, and here again an alert trade union organisation will 'have a go' on it in the factory. But as yet there is still a tendency to accept the de-classed position of women in engineering. Until we solve this problem, we are unable as trade unionists effectively to close the ranks to meet any offensive from the employing class.

The exploitation of women in the industry vastly benefits the employers and this exploitation is a blot on our proud trade union record.

It is not a feminist battle that has to be waged; it should be tackled in the same way as any other evidence of price-cutting or under-rating is dealt with, in the workshop.

JOYCE FARRELLY,
A.E.U. *London, N.W.6.*

Money for Nothing

You printed a letter from a Canadian a couple of months back about how British magazines were being squeezed out by the U.S. journals, and by unfair means. One example was how U.S. journals got top priority in postal deliveries, being sorted first even before first class mail. It goes further than that, and amounts to a serious breach of Canadian postal regulations. Take this mail order advertisement which I enclose for you to see, pushing a U.S. periodical and book which is advertised all over the world. As you will see, it encloses two Canadian one cent pieces, which it describes as 'your change' for the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dime it invites you to send in order to get a 600-page book. The letter is sent open, with the coins showing, second class mail, posted from Montreal, the envelope franked for 2 cents only. Now, it is contrary to Canadian postal regulations to enclose, either in an open envelope, or a sealed one, any type of money, coins or bills without the postage being paid at first class rates—that is, 4 cents an ounce for local delivery, and 5 cents to other cities. Thus U.S. publishers, in defiance of the Canadian postal regulations, are saving 3 cents on each letter. Suppose this rubbish were sent to only 500,000 households in Canada; that amounts to $15,000.

The cool cheek of it! No wonder they are able to hand out a couple of our coins in every letter, for it is at the expense of the Canadian tax payers; and these highly privileged U.S. publishers are still a cent in hand on the transaction.

The Conservative Prime Minister Diefenbaker had to make a timid bleat last month against the 'grave imbalance of trade' with the U.S., their agricultural policy which left Canada carrying over 700 bushels of wheat this year, and discrimination against Canadian investors by American-controlled concerns investing here. His gesture of standing up to the Americans would carry a bit more conviction if there were a clean up at home even on such small points as this favouritism towards U.S. firms using the mails to distribute their rubbish. I think we should resist their penetration by every method, including making them pay full postage, besides exposing their foul 'culture'.

W. WILLIAMSON,
Canada.

Putting it briefly . . .

I was one who very much liked those August Notes, although I would not have termed them markedly superior to those of numerous other months. They derived their special value from the general degree of ignorance and confusion about Israel and the Middle East. For that reason it is a great pity that financial considerations forbid their reproduction in pamphlet form.—*J.T., Oxford.*

You have done a service in printing the letters from women workers. I hope that before too long you may follow Lenin's example and get around to some positive and action-provoking consideration of the problems of 'the woman in the little house', who works a 16-hour day and a seven-day week and is still waiting for Lenin's policy (as stated in September, 1919) to be implemented in the Socialist countries and in the plans and propaganda of Socialist parties in the 'West'.—*K.F., Bromley.*

The 'glorious achievement' in Oman reminds me that the British are still as good as the early Roman conquerors, of whom it was said: 'They made a solitude and called it peace'.—*W.G., Nottingham.*

★

(This month's prize of ONE GUINEA *is awarded to Agnes McLean for her letter* 'A WEE TASTE OF THE WORKSHOP'.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Book Reviews

LENIN ON CAPITALISM

The Development of Capitalism in Russia, by V. I. Lenin. (pp. xvi and 751. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956; published in Great Britain by Lawrence & Wishart, 1957. *9s. 6d.*)

THIS work (of 660 pages, without appendices, in the present edition) was written by Lenin at the close of last century during the period of exile in Siberia after his arrest in 1896. Till now it has been known in this country only in the extracts published in Vol. I of the *Selected Works* (165 pages compared with the 660 pages of text in the present edition). Nine years after its first publication in Russia a second edition appeared in 1908; and it is from the latter that the present translation has been made.

As a work of detailed research and social analysis it has a unique and enduring interest—interest as a study of the growth of capitalism, and especially of the situation of the Russian village two decades before the Revolution. At the same time, it was written in the context of a particular controversy, and much of it needs to be understood in this context, particularly the theoretical chapters and his references to 'the progressive historical role of capitalism' (even including its drawing of women and juveniles into factory industry).

The controversy in question was against the Narodniks, a kind of agrarian 'socialists' who idealised the traditional institutions of the Russian village (in particular the village commune or *mir*), treated capitalism, not as a necessary stage of development, but as a 'foreign' importation and saw the future of Russian development as by-passing capitalism and industrialisation and going directly to a kind of 'co-operativism' of small producers centred on the village. The result was to exalt the peasantry, and its reputed 'mission', over the proletariat, to cling to the traditional and generally to idealise economic backwardness in an essentially conservative spirit.

Against this view Lenin showed (not dogmatically by argument from quotations but factually by careful and painstaking analysis of the available statistics from agricultural surveys and census-returns) that the old village community was almost a thing of the past, an empty shell, and that the peasantry as a class was in an advanced stage of disintegration, penetrated by capitalist relations of production and already 'polarised' into labour-employing *kulaks* on the one hand and a semi-proletariat of impoverished peasants on the other. It was this analysis that, far from remaining academic, was to become the basis twenty years later of policy towards the peasantry during the Revolution, with its firm worker-peasant alliance without which it could never have succeeded.

In the course of demonstrating this he describes very concretely the various transitional forms between serfdom and capitalism in their rich variety (and it is in connection with this that we have his famous phrase about capitalism being a form of commodity-production in which labour-power itself has become a commodity). But he was not concerned only with tracing the growth of proletarianisation and of wage-labour in agriculture; he also shows the way in which industry begins in 'the combination of agriculture with industry' in the form of village handicrafts, and how from a quite early stage this was capitalist in form, and not, as the Narodniks saw it, an idyllic alternative to capitalism. Petty commodity-production was

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

far from being a stable and enduring economic system: 'the facts quite clearly show that the main trend of small commodity-production is towards the development of capitalism'.

One query that arises in the reviewer's mind in connection with the three stages that he distinguishes in the growth of capitalism (small commodity production, capitalist manufacture, factory industry) is this. How far is the 'merchant manufacturer' or 'putter-out' of our own history (in Germany the *Verlager*), who became a virtual employer to semi-proletarian domestic craftsmen, to be identified with Lenin's *skupshchik* (here translated as 'buyer-up')? Or is this term (and the economic relationship it implies) intended to refer only to the very earliest stage of commodity-production when subordination of the producers to a capitalist was no more than in embryo? What is said on page 396 about the 'fourth stage' of the development of merchant capital in its relation to petty industry certainly seems to fit the 'putting-out system' as we know it (here he adds: 'capitalist domestic industry arises'). He frequently speaks, however, of domestic industry as being an adjunct of the capitalist manufactory. In our own history the subordination of domestic craftsmen to a capitalist 'putter-out' of work (e.g., a 'clothier') seems to have been so widespread as to justify one in treating it as the main transitional form, with the manufactory as incidental to it, rather than the converse.

In connection with this detailed study two theoretical considerations emerge, the one explicitly, the other implicitly in his story. Since these have a bearing on some recent discussion and are relatively unfamiliar to English-speaking readers, they probably deserve special mention.

The first of these concerns the question of the so-called 'external market', without which the Narodniks thought that capitalist industry could not develop—an idea which has affinities backwards with Sismondi in the early nineteenth century and forwards with Rosa Luxemburg (in her *Accumulation of Capital*). Against this Lenin maintained that the growth of capitalism itself represents the growth and widening of an 'internal market' (the very division of labour and specialisation between town and country and between various regions which it creates constituting a widening area of commodity-exchange). Of this part of his controversy with the Narodniks (Chapter I, entitled 'Theoretical Mistakes of Narodnik Economists') we have only had previously in English the summary conclusion of the argument in the final section of the chapter. It is in the course of this argument that Lenin gives the Marxist answer to the crude under-consumptionist view: namely, that the market for commodities (whereby surplus-value is 'realised') does not only consist of demand from individual consumers (workers *plus* capitalists' consumption) but *also* of so-called 'productive consumption'—the demand for means of production (products of Dept. I) from industry itself. Nor does the whole of this kind of demand come from the producers of consumer goods (Dept. II) and hence at second-hand (as it were) come from the demand of individual consumers. Since 'capitalist production and accordingly the home market grow not so much on account of articles of consumption as of means of production', and 'the department of social production which produces means of production has consequently to grow faster than that producing articles of consumption', it

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

follows that 'the growth of the home market for capitalism is to a certain extent "independent" of the growth of personal consumption, taking place in greater measure on account of productive consumption' (pp. 31-2). To this extent the development of production under capitalism 'is real "production for production's sake"—the expansion of production without a corresponding expansion of consumption'; and 'it is this expansion of production without a corresponding expansion of consumption that corresponds to the historical mission of capitalism and to its specific social structure' (p. 34). It is from lack of appreciation of this fact (I would suggest) that a rather one-sided under-consumptionist interpretation has been so common in English and American Marxism.

The second consideration has a bearing on discussion about the origins of capitalism and the way of transition from feudal to capitalist relations of production. Regarding the part played by merchant capital in the genesis of capitalist production, there has been a tendency to look towards the big capitalist, and hence towards the merchant prince of late medieval times, as the pioneer of capitalist industry. Actually such elements were apt to be linked, economically as well as politically, with the feudal ruling class. Lenin does not deny the role of the merchant 'buyer-up' as a link between scattered petty production and a large-scale market at a stage when the former is still subject to feudal forms of dependence ('patriarchal social relationships enmeshed in all sorts of survivals of medieval traditions'). But the emphasis is essentially upon the rise of the small employer from *within* the ranks of the petty producers themselves, as product and in turn instrument of the disintegration of the petty mode of production. Here it is that he finds the main line of development—from petty commodity-production up to factory industry; pointing out incidentally 'the number of big and of the biggest factory owners [who] were at one time the smallest of small industrialists and passed through all the stages' from petty producer to capitalist. Readers of Gorky will remember his Artamanov family.

No mention is made in this edition of the translator, whose labour must have been great and whose care and patience deserve a tribute. So far as one can judge, his rendering into English is both accurate and thoughtful, even if in some places one may regret some infelicities of phrasing (a few clumsy expressions like 'above-described characteristic features' and words like 'precisest'; perhaps 'polemize', and 'approximate' as a transitive verb are defensible even if on some readers they may be inclined to jar). No doubt it is ungracious to look a gift horse in the mouth—over 750 pages for only 9s. 6d. is almost a gift these days. Yet one is tempted to ask whether it is not time that the typography (which seems less good than that of the pre-war *Selected Works*) and binding of the Foreign Language Publishing House were improved. Compared to the usual standard of Lawrence and Wishart publications they look rather old-fashioned, to say the least. In addition to the appendices, the book contains detailed editorial notes and an index of sources and of names, but no full index.

MAURICE DOBB.

SORDID 'DIPLOMACY'

Studies in Secret Diplomacy During the First World War, by W. W. Gottlieb. (430 pp. Allen & Unwin. *35s.*)

THIS is a detailed account, with a good deal of historical and economic

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

background, of two parallel episodes of the First World War; first, the sordid manœuvres, bribes, blackmail, etc., which led to Turkey entering the war on one side; and, second, the same process which brought Italy in on the other: it is the product of great scholarship and industry. Although its choice of subjects brings it to an end in the autumn of 1915, two years before the October revolution (which the politicians concerned, who expected the collapse of Austria, were still unable to foresee), it nevertheless gives a full enough picture of 'diplomacy'—of international political activity in peace and in war—to be of great value. Professional historians even the most fully informed, will find the book valuable, for it draws on sources (particularly Italian and Tsarist Russian) hitherto scarcely tapped, and for its useful comment and analysis. More general students will be fascinated, and healthily disillusioned and instructed, by this bright picture of a sordid world! They will learn fully what they may have suspected. Firstly, the utter ruthless indifference of governments, and of the landowners, bankers, and big industrialists who govern governments, to the lives and interests of the cannon-fodder they push backwards and forwards on the costly chess-boards of their countries' lives, as they fight with each other over colonies, markets, territory, power, and money, with or without war. (They make one think that, to them, peace is war carried on by other means.)

Secondly, the complete lack of loyalty displayed by these sordid world criminals—all of whom could successfully refute the claim that Ivar Kreuger was the greatest criminal of all time or that Machiavelli was really a cold-blooded schemer—towards each other as allies in war; they quite cheerfully risk grave setbacks to the 'war effort' in the middle of a war in order to injure each other, and prevent an 'ally' emerging too strong at the end. The manœuvres of Winston Churchill in 1941-44 to prevent or delay the Second Front seem like a minor 'breach of the peace' when one once gets well into the atmosphere of this book! And when one compares their sabotage of each other with the episode, at the end of 1944, of the U.S.S.R. changing its plans in order to rush forward its offensive in Poland to save, at the cost of thousands of Soviet casualties, the Americans and the British from the consequences of their defeat in the Ardennes—and compares too the conduct of the U.S.S.R. at that moment with the policy earlier vaunted by Ernest Bevin of so conducting the war as to put all the casualties on to the Soviet forces—one sees a shining example of the difference between the two worlds.

And, thirdly, there are a good many other things which readers can see for themselves. Perhaps the most interesting and fruitful speculation for them will be to consider whether 1957 is very different from 1915. There is, of course, by way of difference the gigantic effect of the 1917 revolution and the subsequent developments of the socialist world, and the connected development of colonial liberation; and there are intensifications of capitalist development and contradiction; but one feels that, 'the more it changes, the more it is pretty much the same thing'.

The book has many more lessons, which the reader can draw for him or herself. Its whole general effect on the mind should be to make us all hate capitalist politicians and diplomats, and determine to work

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hard for peace, both directly and quickly, here and now, and also in the long run by making the said politicians and diplomats, and their whole system, as dead as the Tsarist, Austro-Hungarian, and Turkish Empires whose dirty and treacherous leaders stalk the pages of this book.

D. N. PRITT.

TEN YEARS OF CHANGE

Assignment China, by Julian Schuman. (254 pp. Whittier Books, New York, *$4.*)

THIS is the account of an American reporter who can speak Chinese. He has no political axe to grind and has reported just what he saw, without any theorising about it. He arrived in Shanghai in 1947, having already some knowledge of the language, and he saw the last eighteen months of Kuomintang rule there. After the change-over he remained and saw the changes wrought by the Communists. He stayed long after all the other American reporters had left, until 1953 in fact. He was able to observe the impact of the new ideas on all sections of the population, at least in the towns; he has relatively little to say about the countryside. Several chapters towards the end of the book are devoted to a devastating analysis of the way the American Press has reported China since 1950. One wishes somebody would do the same for our own Press. The book will be found to contain most of the answers to most of the questions that are asked about China (except for the Korean War, which he deliberately refrains fom dealing with). For this reason alone it deserves a wide circulation.

R.F.B.

Handbook on People's China. Foreign Languages Press, Peking. (236 pp. Collet's Ltd. *6s.*)

THIS contains just the things I want to find in a handbook and, what is even more exceptional, it is not cluttered with things that neither I nor anyone else could possibly want to know. It might almost be said of it (like Augustine on the Bible) that anything not in it is either untrue or unnecessary. Dense ignorance of China abounds in backward Europe —and purblind prejudice. This can dispel both.

P.A.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

The Scholars, by Wu Ching-tzu. Foreign Languages Press, Peking. Collet's Chinese Bookshop. 722 pp. 18s 6d.

Chinese Ancient Fables. Foreword by Chang Yu-luan. Foreign Languages Press, Peking. Collet's Chinese Bookshop. 60 pp. 3s. 6d.

PAMPHLETS

Public Enterprise. 60 pp. 1s.
Industry and Society. 60 pp. 1s. } The Labour Party.
Soviet Pensions, by N. Belyaev. Soviet News. 46 pp. 6d.

If you have a car or van and may be in Wiltshire shortly, would you let The Manager know? See the letter from the toolmaker on the inside front cover.

CORRECTION.—September issue, page 407, in 6th last line, the figures should be hundred millions, not thousand millions.

Published by the Proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Wembley News, Wembley, Middlesex, Great Britain. Registered for transmission by Magazine Post to Canada, including Newfoundland.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page ii of cover)

one month " led all the rest ", like Abou Ben Adhem's. Here's ten bob " to stop a little gap ".'—*'Oliver Twist'*. A *Kent* correspondent, 'a reader since it first appeared, I have in my time won a few readers for the journal; but somehow when it has been a question of subscribing to your fund there have seemed other more urgent demands. Anyway, here is 10s.' He goes on to make many **suggestions and criticisms** for improving our contents. One is 'With all that is happening and so urgent, is there really room for two pages of Angela Tuckett, plus a three-page article? A plain short statement from the Editor that the paper needed so much per reader to continue publication would have got my money, at least much faster!'—*K.F.* A *Staffordshire* reader says he 'must confess that it is fifteen years since I began to take it—I was then a schoolboy—but this is the first time I have contributed to the Fund (10s.) I promise to mend my ways'.—*D.R.M.*

From *Surrey* comes a proposal typical of those with just a bit more cash available: 'It has always been a surprise to me that so few people have given well-merited support to the magazine. **If a number of subscribers banded together** and agreed to contribute an annual sum, I should be glad to join'. —*H.S.R.* Not waiting for that he encloses £5, whilst the same figure comes from a *Nottinghamshire* reader 'with every good wish', and from a professional man in *Wales* with 'sympathy and best wishes in the excellent work you do for the cause. The rising cost of production must be a real problem for you all at Ballards Lane'. Who will volunteer to be put in touch with 'Surrey Reader' and make one of his Band of Hope?

Some subscribers who always give a donation on renewal are increasing it this year; and quick response came from two other regulars: H.G.B. who sends 'fag ends from my holiday money', whilst our cheerful Notts Old Age Pensioner commits one of his horrible puns. He 'hastens to respond with 10s., for I'm afraid my effort was missed last month; certain replacements to my wardrobe had become necessary, or else I must have gone "Bare sark", like Hereward of old'. All this response we must regard as only a beginning. Please note too that none of these reached us in time to be included with the August fund, which amounted to only:

£36 2s. 5d.

REGULAR DONATIONS received during August include: Anon, 'Whitchurch', 1s; C.T.M., 'Mill Hill', 10s; W.B.S., 'Ayr', 10s; 'California', in memory of Captain Herman Boetcher, U.S. Army, Spain-Pacific, £1; A.M.T., for Fernando and Guilherme, Portugal, 1s; D. H. Strathern and Friends (pre-paid); 'Socialist Sailor'. £1; E.J.B., 10s; H.G.B., 3s; 'Republican', 10s; 'Esperanto', 2s 6d; M. Philibert, 5s; L. Perkins, 5s; J. Tarver, 5s; D. M. Clarke, 10s; R. McLeod, 5s; R.F.B., £3; Anon II, 7s 6d; 'L'Humanité', 3s: J. A. Smith, 2s 6d; The Humphreys Family. 4s; A.W.K., 2s; 'Cambridge Seniors', £3; H. Tinkler, 5s; D. Smith, 5s; S. Morrissy, 10s; Olivia Greene, £2; J. A. Purton. 15s.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS INCLUDE: R. Watson, 2s; A. A. Wills, 10s; J. McLeod, 7s; T. Proctor, £1 2s; E. Strachan Rogers, £6 1s; E. Whelan, £1 4s; W. Harmer, 2s; M. Darby, 2s; L. Bates, 4s; T. D. Tyson, 2s; J. Sommerfield, 6s; W.V.S. (Canada), 7s 5d; A. W. Elliott, 2s; J. Eckersley, £1; A. G. Perkins, 2s; W. Lowe, 1s; G.W. (Vancouver), £2; Anon, 'Essex', £4 2s; A. A. Woolf, 3s; R.J.F., 3s; J. Simmons, 2s; J. McCallum, £1 2s; A. Lawrence, 2s 6d; G. Mearns, 2s.

Our thanks to you all.
Co-op No. L99482.

ANGELA TUCKETT,
134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labour Monthly Bound Volume 1956

It's a history of the year and a permanent record

READY NOW

From your usual newsagents, price £1 5s. 0d.

to

THE MANAGER,
134 BALLARDS LANE,
LONDON, N.3.

LABOUR RESEARCH

October issue includes:

"Do The Tories Want Disarmament?"

"Colonial Profits"

"Future For Aircraft"

Monthly 9d.; p.a. 10s. 6d.

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
2, Soho Square, London, W.1

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The Progressive Newsweekly

Authoritative voice of the American progressive movement

Edited by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Annual Subscription 21s.; 6 months 10s. 6d.

ORDER FROM COLLET'S
40, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.1

FOR THE MIDGET

Send a Midget Labour Monthly with the 4-months-for-3 trial sub. to:—

Name .....

Address .....

Mention that I could book the order through my usual agent (*delete if inapplicable*)

I enclose 3d. towards cost

Signed .....

Address .....

FOR SPECIMEN COPIES

Please send a free specimen copy of the .....issue to:—

(1) Name .....

Address .....

(2) Name .....

Address .....

You may mention my name, or/I enclose note to be sent on.

Signed .....

Address .....

.....

TO THE MANAGER, 134, BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N.3

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED